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MEDIÆVAL RESEARCHES

From Eastern Asiatic Sources.

FRAGMENTS TOWARDS THE KNOWLEDGE OF THE GEOGRAPHY AND HISTORY OF CENTRAL AND WESTERN ASIA FROM THE 13th TO THE 17th CENTURY.

BY

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(ACADÉMIE DES INSCRIPTIONS ET BELLES LETTRES).

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WITH A MAP OF MIDDLE ASIA.

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PREFACE.

SINCE Colonel H. Yule began to publish his extensive researches on European mediæval travellers to Eastern Asia, a lively interest has been awakened, not only among professional geographers and Orientalists, but also among general readers, in the accounts left by those adventurous men who in the Middle Ages, in the period of the Mongol domination, crossed the inhospitable wildernesses of Central and Eastern Asia. Towards the middle of the fourteenth century, in the period of the decline and the fall of the Mongol dynasty, these regions became again impervious, and then for many centuries remained inaccessible to European exploration.

Colonel Yule's first work on the subject, "Cathay and the Way Thither," was published in 1866, just when the Russian conquests and discoveries in Central Asia commenced to throw new geographical light upon these tracts. Five years later, in 1871, appeared his "Book of Marco Polo," an admirable monument of erudition, which did not fail to assure to the learned commentator of the celebrated mediæval traveller the success of unrivalled competency in this field of investigation. A new edition of the work, much enlarged and revised, was issued in 1875.

As I was living in China when these so ably elucidated editions of mediæval travellers were published, and taking, of course, the highest interest in the chapters relating to the Far East, it was soon evident to me that the most important sources of information derived from Chinese literature bearing upon the subject had never been made use of by the commentators of Marco Polo and of other mediæval travellers. Colonel Yule, not having access to the Chinese authors in their original language, had been confined in his quotations from Chinese works to translations, in some cases not very trustworthy, by European sinologues.[1]

Taking advantage, therefore, of the favourable circumstances under which I found myself placed for many years, for bringing together all materials supplied by Chinese literature regarding the mediæval history and geography of Middle Asia, I published from 1874 to 1876 a series of papers giving the results of my researches.

It seems to me that Peking is the only place where such investigations can be successfully carried out, for the greater part of the ancient Chinese books required for reference can hardly be found in any European library or in other parts of China. The Russian Ecclesiastical Mission in Peking possesses a very valuable and rare collection of Chinese works, purchased through a long series of years at the expense of the Russian Government. Moreover, since the opening of the Chinese capital as a residence for foreign legations and missionaries in 1860, many eminent sinologues have taken up their abode within

[1] In the Introduction to my paper on Chinese Mediæval Travellers, 1875, I ventured to show by numerous examples how little entitled to confidence are the numerous translations from the Chinese as given by the late M. Pauthier in his bulky work on Marco Polo, and in his essays of a kindred character.

its walls, to several of whom I am deeply indebted for kind assistance in my researches. I may mention in the first place the late Archimandrite Palladius, who was always willing to communicate the valuable information which he had collected during his long residence in Peking (since 1840) regarding the literature of China. I am not less indebted to my lamented friend W. Fr. Mayers, late Chinese Secretary of the British Legation, whose unexpected death deprived Orientalists, and especially sinologues, of one of their most accomplished and zealous representatives.[1]

I have also been laid under much obligation by a friend of many years' standing, Mr. C. Arendt, first Chinese Interpreter of the German Legation, and one of the most erudite and competent among living sinologues. He has frequently assisted me in the elucidation of difficult passages found in the Chinese texts of these ancient books.

When my papers on the Mediæval Geography, &c., of Asia first passed through the press in Shanghai, about fourteen years ago, I had the great advantage of my late friend A. Wylie's kind assistance, not only in taking charge of the proof-reading, but also in giving himself the trouble previously to study critically my manuscripts, and to illustrate my publications with many valuable notes, showing his intimate and multifarious acquaintance with the languages of the East, as well as with the history, astronomy, and mediæval geography of Eastern nations.

About three years have elapsed since I was invited by the late Nicolas Trübner to prepare for his "Oriental Series" a new edition of those of my Asiatic papers re-

[1] Both the above eminent scholars died in the same year, in 1878, Mayers in March, Palladius in December.

lating to the mediæval geography of Central and Western Asia. I accepted the proposition, and thus the subjects dealt with in the two volumes form a carefully revised and improved edition of three of the above-mentioned essays, gathered into one collection, viz.—

1. Notes on Chinese Mediæval Travellers to the West. 1875.

2. Notices of the Mediæval Geography and History of Central and Western Asia. 1876.

3. Chinese Intercourse with the Countries of Central and Western Asia during the Fifteenth Century. 1877.

Since the first publication of these papers, large additions have been made to the stock of our knowledge regarding the regions of Central Asia, which previously to the Russian occupation of these tracts had been inaccessible to scientific exploration. Thus new light has been thrown upon many interesting geographical questions suggested by the narratives of mediæval travellers, or hitherto based only upon more modern but vague and dubious Chinese accounts.

To bring the new edition of those former researches up to the present advanced state of knowledge on the subject, I had to study a vast amount of literature, written for the greater part in Russian, which has come to light during the last fifteen years, on Central Asia, and was obliged to read through a great number of works and papers, some of them published in Russian Turkestan, and, therefore, difficult to obtain.[1] In general, all reading accessible to me bearing on the subject has been made use of for the

[1] It has been impossible for me to find, *e.g.*, in any of the great libraries in St. Petersburg a complete series of the Russian Turkestan Gazette, published at Tashkend since the Russian occupation, and containing many interesting scientific articles.

elucidation of mediæval geographical questions arising out of my researches.

Although, after the extensive surveys made by order of the Russian Government in the newly-conquered Asiatic provinces, there is no want of detailed maps of Central Asia and other parts of the Asiatic continent, I have nevertheless prepared a sketch map illustrating the narratives of Chinese mediæval travellers. The map appended to this volume was originally intended to elucidate the travels of Ch'ang Ch'un, whose route is marked in red, but it will be also found serviceable in following the itineraries of other Chinese and Western mediæval travellers of the Mongol period.

St. Petersburg, *December* 7, 1887.

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Part I.

NOTES ON CHINESE MEDIÆVAL TRAVELLERS TO THE WEST.

INTRODUCTION.

CHINESE literature, so vast in extent, contains very considerable accounts of the geography of Asia at different times, and of the nations who formerly lived in that part of the ancient world. The greater part of these accounts is to be found in the histories of the various dynasties which have up to the present time successively ruled in China. At the end of each of these dynastic histories, twenty-four in number, a section more or less extensive is found devoted to the foreign countries and nations who came in contact with the Chinese empire. They are generally termed *sz' yi*, the four kinds of barbarians, in allusion to the four quarters of the globe. These notices were probably collected by Chinese envoys, or compiled from the reports of envoys or merchants of those countries coming to China. Almost all Chinese works treating of foreign countries drew their accounts from these sources; and even the celebrated Chinese geographer and historian *Ma Tuan lin*, who wrote under the Mongol dynasty, has for the greater part compiled his excellent work, the *Wen hien t'ung k'ao*, from the dynastic histories.[1]

Another category of Chinese accounts of foreign countries is drawn up in the form of narratives of journeys undertaken by Chinese. It seems the Chinese never travelled

[1] The Marquis *d'Hervey de St. Denys* was the first sinologue to attempt the translation of the whole section of the Wen hien t'ung k'ao referring to countries beyond China proper. Two volumes of his able translations, provided with valuable notes, have hitherto been published, with the title *Ethnographie des Peuples étranyers à la Chine*: I. Orientaux, 1876; II. Méridionaux, 1883.

for pleasure, or visited distant countries for the purpose of enlarging the sphere of their ideas, as Europeans are accustomed to do. All the narratives of travel we meet in Chinese literature owe their origin either to military expeditions, or official missions of the Chinese emperors, or they were written by Buddhist or other pilgrims who visited India or other parts of Asia famed for their sanctity. The number of such reports, written by Chinese travellers on different parts of Asia beyond China, is by no means inconsiderable. They often contain very valuable accounts regarding the ancient geography of Asia; but it is not easy to lay them under contribution in elucidating this subject in a European scientific sense. Generally it is difficult to search them out; for they do not exist, for the greater part, as separate publications, but lie concealed among the numerous volumes of the Chinese collections of reprints (*tsʻung shu*). Many of these interesting ancient narratives of travels have been lost, and their existence in former times is only known from ancient catalogues or by the quotations of other Chinese authors.

In order that Western science may profit by the study of these narratives, it is necessary not only that they be correctly translated, but these translations require a great number of explanations, without which they would still remain unintelligible to *savants* unacquainted with the Chinese language and the Chinese manner of viewing things, so different from our way of looking at the same.

I intend in the following pages to give some translations of ancient Chinese accounts of travels to Western Asia, and shall try to explain them as far as my knowledge and the means of reference at my disposal will permit. But next I shall confine my investigations solely to the period embraced by the thirteenth century, the period of the development and the zenith of the power of the Mongols in Asia. It seems that at that time Eastern Mongolia was connected with Persia and Russia by great highways through Central Asia. The Chinese and Mongol writers of that period

record that *Chinghiz Khan* on his expedition to Western Asia in 1219, first established these roads, and had many difficulties in leading them through the inaccessible mountains, which in some places stopped the passage. It is further related that the great conqueror's successor, *Ojotai Khan*, established on these roads military stations on a large scale. At that time considerable Mongol armies were sent repeatedly to the far west, overrunning Western Asia and the eastern part of Europe. Couriers passed hither and thither, as well as envoys from different Western kingdoms; and even the kings themselves were often obliged to render homage in person to the great Khan, at his residence in the depths of Mongolia. We learn from the Russian annals that Russian princes, and even grand-dukes, were forced to undertake the long and painful journey to Karakorum, in order to obtain their investiture. One of them, the Grand-Duke *Yaroslav*, died on his way home, in the desert of Mongolia, in 1246. Another sovereign of the West, *Haithon*, king of Little Armenia, has described his journey to the court of Mangu Khan in 1254. Eight years before, in 1246, *Plano Carpini*, a Franciscan friar, despatched by Pope Innocent, had visited the Mongol court. Another Franciscan monk, *Rubruquis*, or rather *Rubrouck*, was sent, in 1253, on a similar mission to Carpini's, by St. Louis, and arrived at the Mongol camp in the reign of Mangu Khan. Narratives of both journeys have come down to us. Finally, the great traveller *Marco Polo* traversed Central Asia in the second half of the thirteenth century, and then spent many years in China at the court of Khubilai Khan. He has left behind detailed accounts of the countries he visited, which have been for several centuries the subject of learned investigations and commentaries by distinguished orientalists.

Considering the rich material furnished by these Western mediæval travellers in relation to the knowledge of the ancient geography of Central Asia, and the valuable

accounts on the same subject given by several Persian authors contemporary with the rise of the Mongol Empire, it seems to me that some notices about what the Chinese authors of the same period say regarding Central and Western Asia will present some interest. Besides numerous statements relating to the above-mentioned regions found scattered in the *Yüan shi* or Chinese history of the Mongol dynasty, and other Chinese historical or geographical works treating of the Mongols, there have been preserved five Chinese narratives of journeys to the far West, published in the thirteenth century, and these form the subject of my investigations.

The first in point of date comprises the itinerary of Chinghiz Khan's army from Mongolia through Central Asia to Persia in 1219. The author of this narrative was *Ye-lü Ch'u ts'ai*, Chinghiz Khan's minister, who accompanied the great conqueror on his expedition to the west. The Mongol army then went, for the greater part, by the same route by which Ch'ang ch'an (*v. infra*) proceeded.

The next in chronological order is the short and somewhat confused record of an envoy of the Kin emperor (North China), sent in 1220 through Central Asia to Persia, and as far as the Hindukush mountains, to meet Chinghiz Khan there.

The third place in the series will be given to the journey of the Taoist monk *Ch'ang ch'un*, made by order of Chinghiz, from China to Samarkand, also to the encampment of the conqueror in the Hindukush mountains. This narrative, before all others, claims attention as regards the detailed accounts and trustworthy observations by which it is characterised. The traveller left his native country, the province of Shan tung, A.D. 1220, went to *Yen* (the present Peking), rested there some time, and then crossed the eastern part of Mongolia in a north-eastern direction, in order to present himself to Chinghiz' younger brother, Udjughen, who had his encampment at that time near

the lake Buyür, in the north-eastern corner of Mongolia. From thence he went along the river Kerulun to the west, crossed the mountainous country in which afterwards the celebrated Mongol residence Karakorum was founded, and passed probably near the present Uliassutai. Then we can pursue his route over the Kin shan mountains or the Chinese Altai, across the desert, to Bishbalik, situated, as is generally believed, somewhere near the present Urumtsi, and along the northern slope of the T'ien shan or Celestial mountains to the lake Sairam. Thence the diarist of the journey mentions the city of Almalik, situated in the present province of Ili, the Chu river (only, however, spoken of on the way back), the river Talas, and the city of Sairam (still existing to the north-east of Tashkend). Farther on Ch'ang ch'un crossed the Iaxartes, arrived at Samarkand, and after having rested there some months, set out to meet Chinghiz, who was at that time in the Hindukush mountains, on the frontier of India. He was obliged to make this journey from Samarkand to the Hindukush twice. On this route he passed the Iron gate south of Samarkand, crossed the Oxus, came to Balkh, &c. On his homeward way our traveller followed the same route by which he came; went at first in the suite of Chinghiz, who was returning home from his expedition; but afterwards he was permitted to go in advance, reached the country west of the present Uliassutai, and from there went directly across the Mongolian desert to about the present Kukukhotun and Peking, where he arrived in 1224.

The fourth Chinese mediæval traveller to Western Asia whose account I have translated is *Ch'ang Te*. He was sent in 1259 by Mangu Khan to the Khan's brother, Hulagu, who was at the head of the expedition against the Caḷif of Bagdad. Ch'ang Te left Karakorum, and passed by the lake of Kizilbash. From Almalik to Samarkand he followed, it seems, the same way as Ch'ang ch'un. Thence he proceeded to the west, crossed the

Oxus, arrived at the Elburs mountains and the country where the Mulahi or Assassins lived. It does not seem that he went himself to Bagdad, but he describes the residence of the Calif as well as Egypt, India, and other countries of the West.

Finally, I give the translation of the biography of a Mongol officer, *Ye-lü Hi liang*, in which his adventures during his peregrinations in Central Asia, A.D. 1260–62, are recorded.

I.

EXTRACT FROM THE SI YU LU.

It is known that *Ye-lü Ch'u ts'ai*, Chinghiz Khan's minister, who accompanied the conqueror on his expedition to Persia, 1219–24, has left behind an account of the places and countries they passed through, which was published with the title *Si yu lu*, "Account of a Journey to the West." The original book does not seem to exist now, but I was fortunate in finding at least an abstract of it preserved in one of the vast Chinese collections of reprints. Unhappily, the Chinese, in making abstracts from more extensive works, are seldom able to distinguish between what is important and what is not; and in the present abstract, consequently, some passages, which have been separated from the context, are not quite intelligible. Nevertheless it is of no little importance, even in its mutilated form, regarding the elucidation of the mediæval geography of Asia, and enables us to trace the great highway by which the Mongol armies passed from Mongolia to Western Asia; a subject all the more interesting, as the Persian authors say very little about it.

Before giving the translation of the abstract of the Si yu lu, I may be allowed to say a few words about the author of the original narrative. As is stated in his long biography, *Yüan shi*, chap. cxlvi., *Ye-lü Ch'u ts'ai*[2] was a descen-

[2] An abstract of his biography is also given in the *Yüan shi lei pien*. The author of this "History of the Mongol Dynasty in China" has added some interesting notes, drawn from rare books, not found in the Yüan shi. Abel Rémusat in his "Nouv. Mél. Asiat.," ii. 64 *seqq.*, has translated a part of these biographical notes.

dant of the imperial family of the *Liao* or *Ki-tan*, which dynasty reigned over Northern China, A.D. 916–1125, and was overthrown by the *Kin*. *Ye-lü* was the name of the imperial family of the Liao. Ch'u ts'ai was descended from a son of *Apoki*, the founder of the Liao dynasty; his ancestor had a small principality near the celebrated mount *Yi wu lü*, situated near the present *Kuang ning hien* in Manchuria, his father was a high officer in the service of the *Kin*. Ch'u ts'ai was born in A.D. 1190. At the time Chinghiz Khan's army took the residence of the Kin (the present Peking), in 1215, he was made prisoner. Chinghiz attached him to his person, and after having proved his capabilities, gave him the highest post in his empire. Ch'u ts'ai accompanied Chinghiz on his expedition to Western Asia. According to the Chinese annals, he acted also an important part as statesman during the reigns of Chinghiz' successors. He died, as the Yüan shi reports, of grief over the bad administration of the empire, during the regency of Turokina, in 1243, it seems, at Peking. The *Ji hia kiu wen*, an archæological and historical description of Peking and its neighbourhood, published in the seventeenth century, states that Ch'u ts'ai was buried at the southern foot of the hill *Weng shan*, near Peking. In 1627 the temple with his grave still existed there, containing his marble statue and that of his wife. He was represented with long moustaches reaching down to his knees. In his biography it is also stated that Chinghiz, when he first saw him, was surprised by his tall figure and his splendid beard. According to another statement (in a description of Liao tung of the Ming time), Ch'u ts'ai was buried at the cemetery of his ancestors near Mount Yi wu lü, in Manchuria. This seems more plausible, and then there may have been at the Weng shan only a temple and a monument to his memory. In another and more complete edition of the Ji hia kiu wen, published in 1774, it is stated that the name of the Weng shan was changed, in the reign

of K'ien lung, to Wan shou shan, and that at that time no traces of Ch'u ts'ai's monument remained; but in 1751, by imperial order, a new temple and a monument were erected there in honour of the meritorious statesman. Wan shou shan (the Hill of Longevity) bears up to this time the same name. It is a lovely hill, about seven miles north-west of Peking, till the war in 1860 the summer residence of the Chinese emperor. As is known, the noble palace there was destroyed and burnt by the allied armies. I have frequently visited this place, with its picturesque ruins, covered with climbing plants, and overshadowed by dense groves reflected in the azure lake, but was not able to detect amongst the ruins the monument of Chinghiz Khan's minister.

It is strange that Rashid-eddin, the able Persian historian, who gives such circumstantial accounts of the history of the Mongols, and mentions all the ministers and other high officers of that empire, and for the greater part in perfect accordance with the Chinese historians who compiled the official documents of the Mongols, does not mention at all Ye-lü Ch'u ts'ai, who by the Chinese, however, is celebrated not only as an ingenious statesman, but also as a distinguished astronomer and poet. D'Ohsson, therefore, in his "Histoire des Mongols" (ii. p. 193–194), tries to identify Ch'u ts'ai with *Mahmud Yelvady*, often mentioned by the Persian authors as a high officer under Chinghiz and his successors. But d'Ohsson is wrong; the name of Yelvadj occurs repeatedly in the Yüan shi, and other Chinese historical works of that period. Rashid states that Mahmud Yelvadj was a Mohammedan, and that his son, *Mass'ud Bey*, afterwards governed Turkestan and Transoxiana. In the Yüan shi annals, year A.D. 1251 (eight years after Ch'u ts'ai died), we read that *Ya-lao-wa-ch'i* was appointed governor of the province of Yen king (Northern China), and *Ma-su-hu* (Mass'ud) governor in *Bi-shi-ba-li* (Bishbalik), and other countries. In the *Yüan ch'ao pi*

shi, a Chinese translation of a Mongol history of the Mongols, written 1240, Ye-lü Ch'u ts'ai's name does not appear, but Yelvadj is mentioned there as a Mohammedan from Urgendj. In the *Ts'in ch'eng lu*, a description of Chinghiz Khan's exploits, written about the close of the Mongol dynasty, mention is made of both at the same time. It is there said: "The administration of the taxes on the land north of the Yellow River was confided in 1229 to *Wu-du sa-han*, whilst the same appointment in the western countries was given to *Ya-lu-wa-ch'i*. In 1241 the latter took charge of the administration of the Chinese people." *Urtu* in Mongol means "long," *sahal*, "beard." Thus *Wu-du sa-han* seems to be intended for "the long-bearded." I stated above that Ch'u ts'ai was famed for his long beard.

In the article I am about to translate, Ye-lü Ch'u ts'ai is not mentioned by this name, but by the name he bore as author, *Chen jen kü shi*. This abstract of his narrative is found in the first chapter of the *Shu chai lao hio ts'ung t'an*, a book written in the time of the Mongol dynasty (see Wylie's "Notes on Chin. Lit.," p. 134), and this is included in the bulky collection called *Chi pu tsu chai ts'ung shu*.

The author first gives the names and titles of four generations of the Ye-lü family, beginning with Ch'u ts'ai's father, and states that all of them left behind memoirs, which together form a work of one hundred volumes, well known to all literary men. After this he states that Chen jen kü shi (or Ch'u ts'ai), at the time of the rise of the Mongol empire, accompanied Chinghiz on his expedition to the West; that he travelled fifty or sixty thousand *li*; that he remained six or seven years in the Western countries, and that he wrote a book about his travels, which he named *Si yu lu*, "An Account of a Journey to the West." As this book was very rare (even at the time the author wrote), he considered it useful to preserve an abstract of it, which he gives as follows:—

In the year A.D. 1218,[3] in spring, in the third month (April), (Ye-lü Ch'u ts'ai) left *Yün chung* (the present *Ta tung fu* in Northern Shan si), crossed the *T'ien shan* mountain,[4] traversed the *ta tsi* (great stony desert), and the *sha mo* (sandy desert), and reached the camp of Chinghiz Khan.

In the next year (1219) a vast army was raised and set in motion towards the west. The way lay through the *Kin shan* mountain.[5] Even in the middle of the summer, masses

[3] I shall always use in my translations, instead of the Chinese cyclic characters, the corresponding Christian date, which will be more convenient for the reader. My late friend A. Wylie has had the kindness to calculate for me all the Chinese dates occurring in the texts I translated. Of course Old Style is always to be understood.

[4] *T'ien shan*, Celestial Mountains, is properly the name of the lofty chain in Central Asia, beginning in Russian Turkestan, and stretching eastward to the Mongolian desert beyond Hami. But here, in this case, evidently the *Yin shan* of modern Chinese maps is meant. This chain stretching from west to east in Southern Mongolia, is the boundary range between China and the Mongolian plateau. Among the Chinese geographers some trace its beginning from the Celestial Mountains, and therefore the two names are sometimes used promiscuously (compare note 152). A. v. Humboldt, independently of the Chinese views, it seems, inclined to the same opinion, that the Yin 'shan is a continuation of the T'ien shan (Ritter's "Asien," i. 236). This view, however, has not been confirmed by recent European explorations of those regions. *Yin shan* in Chinese means "Northern mountain." Father A. David visited the Yin shan in 1866; Colonel (now General) Przewalsky in 1871.

[5] By *Kin shan*, or "Gold mountain," the Chinese understand the *Altai* range of our maps. The latter name has generally been derived from the Mongol word *altan*, gold. But, as Radloff and Potanin prove, this etymology is untenable, the name of the mountain being derived from *al*, high. Besides this, gold is very scarce in the Altai. The name of *Kin shan* is frequently met with in Chinese history; it occurs, it seems, for the first time in the annals of the fifth century. According to Chinese records, the people of the *T'u küe* (Turks) took their origin in these mountains. The Kin shan is often mentioned in the Yüan shi or History of the Mongol dynasty, where it sometimes is also termed *A-le-tai*. In Rashid-eddin's History of the Mongols the *Altai* mountains are repeatedly noticed (see note 98). This mountain chain takes its origin in Southern Siberia, southeast of Semipalatinsk, and then stretches in a south-eastern direction across Western Mongolia, nearly as far as the northern bend of the Yellow River. The upper part of the Mongolian (Chinese) Altai was formerly, after Ritter, erroneously marked "Ektag Altai" on our maps. This name of Ektag, mentioned in the narrative of Zemarchus' mission to the Khan

of ice and snow accumulate in these mountains. The army passing that road was obliged to cut its way through the ice. The pines and *kui* trees[6] are so high, that they (seem to) reach heaven. The valleys there are all abounding in grass and flowers. The rivers west of the Kin

of the Turks in A.D. 570, is unknown to the Mongols now-a-days, and hardly refers to the Altai. During the last thirteen years the Chinese Altai has been repeatedly visited and crossed by Russian explorers: Colonel Matussovsky, 1873; Potanin, 1877; Colonel Pevtsoff, 1878. It is a high mountain, many of its summits being covered with eternal snow.

As to the route followed by Chinghiz in crossing the Altai, there are only three of the roads leading over this mountain range which can be taken here into consideration, and which connect the city of *Kobdo*, situated east of the Altai, with the Chinese colony *Bulun tokhoi*, near the Kizilbash lake, and also with the city of *Ku ch'eng*, on the northern skirt of the T'ien shan. The first of these roads, the shortest communication between Kobdo and Bulun tokhoi, practicable only in a part of the year for riders, leads through the defiles of *Terekty* (10,500 feet) and Urmogaity (9710 feet), north-west of Kobdo, to the sources of the *Kran* river, an affluent of the *Black Irtysh*. Potanin proceeded by this way in September 1876 ("Mongolia," i. 30 *seqq.*). The second road passes from Kobdo in a southerly direction, crosses the Altai in the pass of *Ulan daban*, reaches the Bulgun river, and descends along it and its continuation the Ulungur, near the mouth of which Bulun tokhoi is situated. The Ulan daban pass seems to be more practicable than the Urmogaity, but it presents also great difficulties. This route was partly followed by a Russian caravan proceeding in 1877 from Kobdo to Ku ch'eng (Potanin, *l. c.*, i. 124). The third road crosses the Altai still more to the south-east, in the pass of *Dabysten daban*. This is the Chinese post-road from Kobdo to Ku ch'eng, and also to Bulun tokhoi. It is practicable the whole year, and even for carts, it seems (Potanin, *l. c.*, i. 128 *seqq.*).

I am not prepared to decide by which of these roads the Mongol armies passed in 1219. Compare also below, notes 147, 148. Rashid-eddin states (d'Ohsson, i. 212, 216) that Chinghiz (after having crossed the Altai) passed the whole summer of 1219 at the sources of the *Irtysh* river, in order to equip anew and complete his cavalry corps. In his march to the west with a numerous cavalry, Chinghiz was always obliged to choose such roads as presented the most abundant pastures. The valleys of the Upper Irtysh, as well as the Kran river, are still famed for their pastures. The same statement about Chinghiz encamping on the river *Ye-rh-di-shi* is recorded in the afore-mentioned Ts'in ch'eng lu. By the same Chinese characters the name of the Irtysh is repeatedly rendered in the Yüan shi (Annals, *s. a.* 1206, 1208; war with the Naimans).

[6] *Kui* is the Chinese classical name for *Juniperus chinensis*, which tree attains generally a large size in China. But the Chinese traveller saw probably *larch* trees.

shan all run westward, and finally discharge into a lake.[7] South of the Kin shan is *Bie-shi-ba*,[8] a city of the *Hui hu* (Uigurs). There is a tablet dating from the time of the T'ang dynasty, on which it is stated that here at that time was the *Han hai kün* (military administration of the Han hai).[9] The *Han hai* is several hundred *li*[10] distant from the city (of Bishbalik). There is a sea (lake) with an island in it, on which a great number of birds use to

[7] The *Black Irtysh* and its eastern affluents may be meant. This river, as is known, discharges itself into the *Zaisan* lake, from the north-western corner of which it comes out again, and then bears the name *Irtysh*. But the *Ulungur*, which runs in the same direction as the Black Irtysh, flows likewise into a lake.

[8] *Bishbalik*, the capital of the Uigurs. For further details see notes 155, 157.

[9] *Han hai* is an ancient Chinese name to designate the Mongolian desert, and especially, it seems, the elevated north-western part of it. This term occurs for the first time in the Chinese annals under the year B.C. 119. It is there stated that a Chinese general, after having defeated the *Hiung nu* (the troublesome northern neighbours of the Chinese), pursued them as far as the *Han hai*. A commentator of the T'ang dynasty explains *han hai* by "northern sea." Baron Richthofen ("China," i. 24) is wrong in translating these two characters by "dry sea." He bases thereupon the theory of the existence of a vast lake in ancient times in these regions which now-a-days present a barren desert. The Chinese annals of the fifth century notice the Han hai as the northern boundary of the *Juan juan* tribes, whose power in that period extended over the greater part of Mongolia. Two centuries later the Chinese annals (T'ang shu) state that the dominions of the *T'u küe* (Turks) reached northward to the Han hai; and we learn from the same T'ang history that in A.D. 630, in the country of the *Hui hu* (Uigurs, they occupied the land on the Upper Selenga, and its affluents), the *tu tu fu* (military governorship) of *Han hai* was established. Notwithstanding the fact that a Chinese commentator translated *han hai* by northern sea, there is no evidence from Chinese history that this term has ever been applied to an inland sea. The *Ming Yi t'ung chi*, or Geography of the Ming dynasty, under the head of *Liu ch'eng* (situated between Turfan and Pichan), states expressly that *han hai* is not a Chinese name, but an appellation the barbarian tribes apply to the desert east of that place. On modern Chinese maps the desert east of Hami bears the name of Han hai.

[10] *Li*, a Chinese road measure. According to Williams' "Middle Kingdom," ii. p. 83, at present an English mile is = 2,89 *li*. Judging from some Chinese itineraries of the eleventh and twelfth centuries, it would seem that the length of the *li* has not considerably changed since that time. But Gaubil in his "Histoire de l'Astronomie Chinoise," i. 77, has proved

mew.[11] West of the aforesaid city, 200 *li* distant, is the city of *Lun t'ai hien*, where also a tablet of the T'ang is found.[12] South of the city (of Bishbalik), 500 *li* distant, is *Huo chou*, the same place which at the time of the T'ang was called *Kao ch'ang*, and also *Yi chou*.[13] West of Kao ch'ang, 3000 or 4000 *li* distant, is the city of *Wu-duan*, which is the same as the realm of *Yü t'ien* of the T'ang dynasty. There is a river there in which is found white and black *yü* stone (jade).[14]

At a distance of more than a thousand *li*, after having

that in the twelfth century one degree of latitude was reckoned at 338 *li*. Thus an English mile, according to this calculation, is = 489 *li*. It is therefore difficult to value exactly the length of the *li* in ancient Chinese itineraries, all the more as the estimates of distances in Chinese narratives of journeys in general are very arbitrary.

[11] The Chinese text implies that by *Han hai* an inland sea is to be understood. But there is probably an error, due to the abbreviation of the original account, for farther on in the text it is said that the traveller crossed the Han hai (and, no doubt, not in a boat). It is difficult to say what sea or lake, with an island in it, is meant. There are many lakes in these regions.

[12] *Lun t'ai* is mentioned in the *Ts'ien Han shu*, chap. xcvi., before our era, as a Chinese military colony in the *Si yü*, west of *Yen ki*, 680 *li* distant. Yen ki is generally believed to answer to the present Kharashar in Eastern Turkestan. Father Hyacinth identifies *Lun t'ai* with the present *Bughur*.

[13] The author is right in identifying *Huo-chou* or *Karakhodjo* with ancient *Kao ch'ang*, but he errs with regard to *Yi chou;* for this place at the time of the T'ang was the same as *Yi wu lu* of the Han (Hou Han shu, chap. cxviii.), or the present *Hami*. *Wang Yen te*, a Chinese envoy, who went to *Kao ch'ang* at the end of the tenth century, passed through *Yi chou*, and then proceeding westward, he mentions several places before he arrived at Kao ch'ang (see the translation of his narrative in Stan. Julien's "Mélanges de Géographie Asiatique," p. 90–92). The author who abbreviated Ch'u ts'ai's narrative probably made a mistake, or omitted some characters.

[14] *Yü t'ien* has for a long time been recognised by A. Rémusat as answering to the *Khotan* of the Mohammedan authors (see his "Histoire de la Ville de Khotan"). Yü t'ien is mentioned in the Ts'ien Han shu, chap. xcvi., two centuries before our era. Khotan is evidently intended by the *Wu-duan* of our Chinese traveller. In the Yüan shi the name is spelt *O-duan;* and on an ancient Chinese map of the fourteenth century (see part iii.) we find it more correctly rendered by *Hu t'an*.

crossed the Han hai,[15] one arrives at the city of *Bu la.*[16] South of this city is the *Yin shan* mountain, which extends from east to west a thousand *li*, and from north to south 200 *li.*[17] On the top of the mountain is a lake, which is seventy or eighty *li* in circumference. The country south of the lake is overgrown with *lin k'in* trees, which form such dense forests, that the sunbeams cannot penetrate.[18] After leaving the Yin shan one arrives at the city of *A-li-ma.*[19] The Western people call a *lin k'in* (crab-apple) *a-li-ma,*[20] and as all the orchards around the city abound in apple trees, the city received this name. Eight or nine other cities and towns are subject to A-li-ma: in that country grapes and pears abound. The people cultivate the five kinds of grain, as we do in China. West of A-li-ma there is a large river which is called *I-lie.*[21]

[15] The traveller, after having spoken of several places situated to the south of his road, continues his itinerary.

[16] *Bula* is evidently the city of *Pulad* mentioned by Rashid-eddin, the *Phulad* in Haithon's itinerary, not far from the Sairam lake, the *Bolat* of Rubruquis. For further details, see Part III., explanation of the ancient Chinese map of the fourteenth century, on which this place appears as *P'u-la.* This city was probably situated in the valley of the river *Borotala* of our maps.

[17] By *Yin shan* here the author means the *Borokhoro* or *Talki* mountains, a branch of the T'ien shan, stretching in a north-westerly direction north of Kuldja. Compare notes 4 and 52. The lake on the top of the mountain is evidently the *Sairam* lake.

[18] *Lin k'in* in Chinese is a small apple. Generally the wild apple (crab-apple) is designated by this name. Przewalsky notices the great abundance of apple and apricot trees in a wild state in the T'ien shan mountains, especially on the northern slope, producing excellent fruit. In autumn the soil in the forests is covered with these fruits (see his travels to the Lop-nor, &c., 1876, in "Peterm. geogr. Mitth.," Erg. heft liii. p. 2). Dr. A. Regel ("Gartenflora," 1877) speaks also of the abundance of wild apple trees yielding relishable small red apples in the mountains north of Kuldja (*Pyrus prunifolia*, Willd.). Excellent apples are also cultivated in the neighbourhood of Kuldja.

[19] *A-li-ma-li* is without any doubt the *Almalik* of the Persian authors of the thirteenth century; situated, it seems, not far from modern Kuldja. For further particulars see Part III., *sub* Almalik, and note 172.

[20] *Alma*, in fact, means "apple" in the Kirghiz and other Turkish languages.

[21] This is the river *Ili*, which runs through the Chinese province of the

Farther on, west of this river, is the city of *Hu-sz'-wo-lu-do*, the capital of the *Si Liao*. Several tens of cities are subject to it.[22]

Several hundred *li* west of Hu-sze-wo-lu-do is the city of *T'a-la-sz'*.[23] From this place 400 *li* and more to the

same name, and discharges into the Balkash lake. It is mentioned by this very name in the T'ang shu as early as the seventh century. In the account the T'ang history gives of the *Si T'u küe* or Western Turks, it is stated that they were divided into two hordes, one of them east of the *I-li* river, the other west of it. The Persian authors of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries also mention this river. According to Rashid-eddin (d'Ohsson, ii. 353), the prince *Algu*, grandson of Chagtai, had his residence on the river *Hile*. The *Mesalek alabsar*, written in the first half of the fourteenth century, and translated by Quatremère ("Notices et Extraits," &c., XIII., i. p. 230), speaks of the river *Ila* on the eastern boundary of Mavaran-nahar (Transoxiana).

[22] The *Si Liao*, or Western Liao, are the *Karakhitai* of the Persian authors. The empire of Karakhitai was founded by a prince of the *K'itan* or *Liao* dynasty, who escaped with a body of followers from Northern China, on the overthrow of that dynasty by the Kin in A.D. 1125. This chief, called by the Chinese *Ye lü Ta shi*, conquered the whole of Eastern and Western Turkestan, and even Khovarezm. Rashid-eddin states that the capital of the Karakhitai was *Belasagun* (probably the same word as the Mongol *balgasun*, meaning "city"). The Chinese authors call it *Hu-sz'-wo-lu-do*. The three last characters of the name, *wo-lu-do*, written also *wa-r-do*, are intended for *ordo*, or residence of the Khan. *Hosun* in Manchu means "strength." Perhaps *hu-sz'* had a similar meaning in the language of the K'itan, who, as is known, belonged to the same Tungusic stock as the Manchus. According to the Yüan ch'ao pi shi, the capital of the Karakhitai was on the *Ch'ui* river, the *Chu* of our maps. For further details on the Karakhitai, see Part II. This empire was destroyed in 1208 by Guchluk, the son of the last Khan of the Naimans. Guchluk was slain by the Mongols in 1218. Thus the empire of the Karakhitai did not exist when Ch'u-ts'ai passed through these regions.

[23] The name of a place, *Talas*, in Turkestan, occurs as early as the sixth century in the Byzantine annals, in connection with the account of an embassy sent by the Emperor Justin in A.D. 569 to the Khan of the Turks in Central Asia (Yule's "Cathay," clxv.). About sixty years later, the Chinese pilgrim Hüan ts'ang, on his way from China through Central Asia to India, passed the city of *Ta-lo-sz'*. For further particulars on this part of his journey and other Chinese notices found in the T'ang annals about Talas, see note 584.

The Mohammedan authors call the same city *Taras*. This name is frequently met with in the ancient history of Persia. See J. de Mohl's "Livre des Rois" (Shahnameh). To Ibn Khurdadbih (ninth century) and Ibn Haukal (tenth century) Taras was known as an important trading

south-west are the cities of *Ku-djan*, *Ba-p'u*, *K'o-san*, and *Ba-lan*.[24]

K'u djan abounds in pomegranates. They are as large as two fists and of a sour-sweet taste. People take from

place between Mohammedans and Turks. Edrisi (twelfth century), Abulfeda, Ibn Batuta (thirteenth and fourteenth century), and other Arabian geographers and travellers, mention Taras as a city of Turkestan (distant from the Oxus twenty-two or twenty-three days' journey, according to Isstakhri and Edrisi). Rashid-eddin reports that in A.D. 1210 Mohammed of Kharezm defeated the army of the Karakhitai near Taras.

Rubruk in the narrative of his journey (1253) mentions the city of *Talas* on his way to Mongolia; but he was not himself there. He was told, when proceeding from the Volga to Cayalic, that the city of Talas, situated in the vicinity of mountains, was distant six days' journey from the route he followed. He speaks of some Germans, who, as he had heard, were living in Talas (Rubruk, p. 280, 279). In 1255, Haithon, king of Little Armenia, passed through *Talas* on his homeward journey from Mongolia. He saw there Hulagu, the brother of Mangu Khan.

Now-a-days a place bearing the name of Talas or Taras does not exist. Sultan Baber, who wrote his Memoirs in the beginning of the sixteenth century, in his account of Ferghana, there speaks of *Taras-kand* as a city which had been destroyed before his time by the Mongols and Uzbeks.

As to the site of ancient Taras, we can only conclude, from the scarce accounts about it left by Persian and Chinese authors, that this city was situated on the road from Samarkand to Almalik, or more precisely, between Sairam (near the present Chimkent) and Belasagun (on the river Chu). Meyendorff, on the map appended to his "Voyage d'Orembourg à Boukhara" (1820), places ancient Taras, arbitrarily it seems, at the present city of Turkestan (about twenty-three miles east of the Syr-daria); and by this error he misled d'Ohsson (see the map appended to his history of the Mongols), Vivien de St. Martin (see his geographical notes appended to Stan. Julien's "Mém. s. l. Contrées Occid."), and others. There can be no doubt now that ancient Taras or Talas was situated on the river in Russian Turkestan bearing up to this time the name of *Talas*, and which the post-road from Tashkand to Vernoye crosses at *Aulie-ata*. Valikhanow who visited the latter place in 1858, does not hesitate to identify it with ancient Taras ("Memoirs of the Russ. Geogr. Soc.," 1861). Schuyler, in his "Turkestan," ii. p. 120, is also of opinion that Aulie-ata lies probably near the site of ancient Taras.

Further particulars regarding Taras may be found in Quatremère's "Notices et Extraits," &c., XIII., i. p. 224, note,—in P. Lerch's "Archeol. Journey to Turkestan," 1867 (in Russian),—and in Dr. Max Schmidt's valuable article on the journey of Rubruk ("Zeitsch. d. Gesellsch. f. Erdkunde," 1885, p. 194 *seqq.*).

[24] The author mentions some cities in Ferghana. The first is *Khodjend* on the Syr-daria. K'o-san is *Kasan*, mentioned by Ibn Haukal (tenth century) as an important city of Ferghana (Abulfeda, ii. p. 226). At

three to five of this fruit, and press out the juice into a vessel. That makes a delicious beverage for slaking thirst.[25]

Around the city of *Ba-lan* there are everywhere *ba-lan* gardens; hence the name (see note 24). The blossoms of the *ba-lan* tree resemble those of the apricot, only they are a little paler. The leaves are like the leaves of the peach tree, but a little narrower and smaller. The blossoms appear in winter, the fruit ripens in summer.[26]

In *Ba-p'u* are large water-melons, weighing fifty pounds each. A long-eared (*i.e.*, a donkey) can only carry two of them at the same time.

North-west of K'u-djan (Khodjend) there is the city of *O-ta-la*. More than ten other cities are subject to it. One time the chief of this place ordered several envoys (of Chinghiz), and several hundreds of merchants (who were with them), to be put to death, and seized upon their goods. That was the cause of the army being directed against the Western people.[27]

the time of Sultan Baber (Memoirs) it was an unimportant place. It is marked on modern maps of Ferghana to the north-west of Namangan. Ba-lan may be identified with *Kandi-badam* (almond-town), which, according to Baber, was famed for its almonds. He places it east of Khodjend. Indeed, on the Russian map of Ferghana I find a place marked *Kany-badam* between Kokand and Khodjend. Ba-lan in the Chinese text is misspelt for *ba-dan*, as the Chinese materia medica renders the Persian name for almond (see note 26). I am not prepared to say what place is meant by *Ba p'u*, but there must have been a city of a similar name in Ferghana, for my Chinese mediæval map (see Part III.) marks a place *Ba-bu* between K'o-san (Kasan) and Ma-rh-i-nang (Marghinan).

[25] See Baber's Memoirs. He praises the excellency of the pomegranates of Khodjend.

[26] This is a tolerably correct description of the almond tree, which, as is known, resembles much the peach tree; only the fruit is different. The almond tree is not found in China, but the *Pen ts'ao kang mu*, a Chinese materia medica and natural history of the sixteenth century, gives (book xxix. fol. 10) a good description of it under the name of *ba-dan hing* or *ba-dan* apricot, and states that it grows in the country of the Mohammedans. See also note 204.

[27] O-ta-la is the ancient city of *Otrar* in Transoxiana. According to P. Lerch ("Archeol. Journey to Turkestan," 1867), its ruins can still be

West[28] of O-ta-la more than a thousand *li* is a large city called *Sün-sz'-kan*. Western people say that the meaning of this name is "fat," and, as the land there is very fertile, the city received this name.[29] The country there is very rich and populous. They have gold and copper coins, but their coins are not provided with a hole, nor have they rims (as the Chinese copper coins have). Around the city, to an extent of several tens of *li*, there are everywhere orchards, groves, flower gardens, aqueducts, running springs, square basins, and round ponds, in uninterrupted succession; indeed, Sün-sz'-kan is a delicious place! The water-melons there are as large as a horse's head. Regarding grain and vegetables, however, the *shu*, the *no*, and the *ta tou* are not found there.[30] It does not rain there in summer. People make wine from grapes. There are mulberry trees, but not fit for the breeding of silkworms.[31] All cloths are made of *kü-sün*.[32] The white colour for cloth is considered as a good omen, whilst black

seen near the mouth of the river Arys, a tributary of the Syr-daria (nearly 43° N. lat.). Ch'u ts'ai, in his statement about the cause of the war with Khovarezm, agrees perfectly with the Persian authors. Gairkhan Inaldjuk, governor of Otrar, had killed Chinghiz Khan's envoys, sent along with a numerous caravan of merchants to Mohammed of Khovarezm (d'Ohsson, i. 206) See also note 487.

[28] Mistake for south-west. The indications of the directions and distances in this account are often erroneous.

[29] Sün-sz'-kan is evidently intended for *Semiscant*. Colonel Yule, in his "Cathay," &c., p. 192, has proved that this was an ancient name for *Samarkand*. At least the Nestorian bishops in the Middle Ages termed this city Semiscant. Besides this, we learn from Clavijo that Samarkand was also called *Cimesquinte*. The etymological notice of the Chinese author with respect to this name of Samarkand seems to be perfectly correct. *Semiz*, in all the languages of Turkish origin, means "fat." *Kand*, as is known, in Persian means a village, a town. See also note 827.

[30] The *shu* is a glutinous variety of the common millet (*Panicum miliaceum*) cultivated in China. *No* is the glutinous rice peculiar to Eastern Asia, as is also the *ta-tou* or Soy bean (*Soja hispida*).

[31] Ch'u ts'ai saw the black mulberry tree (*Morus nigra*), which is very common in Persia and Transoxiana. It is indeed not fit for feeding the silkworm.

[32] This seems to be the name of a stuff, probably cotton. *Kassam* is an Arabic name for cotton (see Ibn Beithar's "Mat. Med.," transl. by Son-

is the mourning colour.[33] Wherefore all clothes seen there are white.

West of Sün-sz'-kan (Samarkand) six to seven hundred *li* is the city of *P'u hua*.[34] It abounds in every kind of products, and is richer than Samarkand. There is the residence of the *so-li-t'an* of the *Mou-su-lu-man* (Mussulman) people. The cities of K'u-djan (Khodjend) and O-ta-la (Otrar), and others, all depend on P'u hua.

West of Bokhara there is a great river (the Amu-daria), flowing to the west, which enters a sea.[35] West of this river is the city *U-li-ghien*, where the mother of the *so-li-t'an* is living. This city is still more rich and populous than Bokhara.[36]

theimer, ii. 304). Now-a-days cotton is called *guza* in Turkestan (Kostenko's "Turkestan," iii. 30).

[33] As is well known, the Chinese consider white as the mourning colour.

[34] *Bokhara*, which at the time here spoken of belonged to Mohammed, Sultan of Khovarezm, whose residence was Urghenj. But he often resided also in Bokhara, and was, according to Rashid-eddin, in the latter city just when Chinghiz appeared in Transoxiana.

[35] It is now a well-established fact that the Amu-daria or Oxus formerly flowed into the Caspian Sea. According to Abulghazi, who lived in the first half of the seventeenth century, the change of the course of this river from the Caspian to the Aral took place in A.D. 1575. Mas'udi, however, who lived in the ninth and tenth centuries, as well as Abulfeda in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, both agree in stating clearly (Mas'., i. p. 211; Abulf., ii. p. 209) that the Djihun or Oxus discharges itself into the lake of Khovarezm or Aral. P. Lerch, in his valuable article on Khiva or Khovarezm (1873), comes to the conclusion that the Oxus in ancient times flowed into the Aral, as now-a-days. It was, according to Lerch, only towards the end of the fourteenth century that this river carved itself a new road to the Caspian Sea. But since the year 1575 the Oxus falls again into the Aral. I may, however, observe that Arab Shah, who died 1450, states, I. cap. 45, that the Jihun or Oxus discharges itself into the Caspian Sea.

[36] U-li-ghien is *Urghendj*, the ancient capital of Khovarezm. In the days of Chinghiz it stood, according to Rashid, on both banks of the Oxus, with a bridge connecting them (d'Ohsson, i. 267). The Mongols destroyed the city in 1221, but it recovered subsequently, and does still exist. It is called *Kunia* (ancient) *Urghendj*, to distinguish it from *Yeni* (new) *Urghendj*, the present commercial capital of Khiva, north-east of the city of Khiva, near the western border of the Amu-daria. Kunia Urghendj is situated about ninety miles north-west of New Urghendj, and is twenty-seven miles west of the present channel of the Amu-daria.

To the west (mistake for south), near the western border of the same great river (Amu-daria), is the city of *Ban;*[37] and west of the latter is the city of *Chuan.*[38] Farther on, direct west (mistake for south), one reaches the city of the black *Yin-du.*[39] Their writing is different from that in use in the Buddhist kingdoms (Sanscrit) as regards the letters and the pronunciation. There are many idols of Buddha. The people there do not kill cows or sheep; they only drink the milk of these animals. Snow is unknown there. Every year they reap two crops. It is so hot there that a vessel of tin put in the sand melts immediately. Even by moonlight one is hurt as on a summer day (in China by sunbeams).

In the south there is a great river, the water of which is as cold as ice. It runs very rapidly and discharges itself into the southern sea.[40] In that country much sugar-cane is cultivated. From its juice the people make wine and sugar.

To the north-west of *Yin-du* (Hindustan) is the realm of *K'o fu-ch'a.* For several thousand *li* on every side are plains, and no more hills are met with. The people there have no cities or towns. They breed much cattle and horses. They make a fermented beverage from honey. In that country the days (in summer) are long and the nights short. In little more than the time necessary to cook a mutton chop, the sun rises again.[41] K'o-fu-ch'a is

[37] The city of *Balkh* is meant. See note 241.

[38] See note 240.

[39] It is difficult to say what city of Hindustan is meant. Ch'u ts'ai's accounts of the countries known to him only by hearsay are very confused.

[40] Probably the *Indus* river is meant. See note 704.

[41] Although the author determines so vaguely the position of *K'o fu-ch'a*, there can, however, be no doubt that he means the large plains of Southern Russia, and north of the Caspian Sea, mentioned by the Persian authors under the name of *Desht Kipchac* or *Kapchak* (d'Ohsson, i. 338). At the time Ch'u ts'ai was in Western Asia, Kipchak was little known to the Mongols. It was only in 1236 that they took possession of it. In the Yüan shi this name is generally rendered by *Kin-ch'a.*

The fermented beverage, made of honey, in the Chinese account, is up

the same country as *Ku-li-han*, about which the T'ang history reports the same facts. But the name has changed in the long course of time.[42]

to our days a favourite drink of the common people in Russia. They call it *miod*, which is also the name for honey. Southern Russia is famed for its honey.

[42] The country of *Ku-li-han* is spoken of in the history of the T'ang (618–907), T'ang shu, chap. cclvii. *b*, but can by no means be identified with Kipchak. The above name, at the time of the T'ang, evidently referred to a tribe in Siberia, for the T'ang historians state that they are a nomadic people living north of the *Han hai* (see note 9). The *po ho* plant grows in their country. They have excellent horses, with heads like camels. This country is very far from the Chinese capital. It is bounded on the north by the sea. Proceeding from the Han hai northward, one will observe that the days become long and the nights short. After sunset one has no time to roast a sheep's liver till the sun rises again. What people are meant by Ku-li-han cannot be investigated. We know nothing regarding the history of Siberia at so early a period.

As to the plant *po ho*, which is often mentioned in the T'ang history as produced in Northern Mongolia, this is *Lilium spectabile*, Link., the bulbs of which are much eaten by the Mongols and the tribes of Southern Siberia; a fact noticed already by Pallas in the last century, and confirmed by modern travellers. *Po ho*, in China, is a general name for lily.

II.

PEI SHI KI.

PEI SHI KI, or "Notes on an Embassy to the North," is the title of a short account of an envoy of the Kin emperor sent to Chinghiz Khan. The northern dynasty or the Mongol court is meant. But as Chinghiz, at that time, had left Mongolia and waged war in Western Asia, the envoy, in reality, travelled not to the north, but to the west.

This narrative is of little importance, and hardly repays the trouble spent in searching it out in the *Chi pu tsu chai ts'ung shu* (already mentioned), a bulky Chinese work of more than 30,000 pages, containing a very large number of small articles on different matters, collected, as is usually the case in Chinese books, without any system and without a detailed index. The Pei shi ki is found there as chapter xiv. of the *Kui tsien chi*, a book written by *Liu K'i* in 1295, and treating of different matters regarding the Kin dynasty (see Wylie's "Notes on Chin. Lit.," 159). But Liu K'i is not the author of the Pei shi ki; he must have reproduced it from another book. This is proved by the statement of the author of the article, that he himself knew the envoy who returned from the West in 1222, and that he took down the report from his account.

The name of the aforesaid envoy of the Kin emperor is *Wu-ku-sun*[43] *Chung tuan*. His biography is found in the

[43] *Uksun* was the family name of the descendants of the imperial house of the Kin. Now a days *uksun* in Manchu means "race, family." As is known, the Kin or Nüchi belonged to the same stock as the Manchus.

Kin shi, or history of the Kin dynasty, chap. cxxiv., and his mission to Chinghiz is there also shortly recorded.

Chinghiz, who at first was tributary to the Kin, in 1211 had withdrawn his allegiance, and made his first irruption into Northern China. He ravaged the provinces of the Kin empire to the Yellow River. *Chung tu* (the present Peking), the residence of the Kin emperor, was taken by the Mongol armies in 1215. Whilst Chinghiz turned his arms to Western Asia, one of his generals, the famous *Mukuli*,[44] continued the war in China with the greatest success. The Kin emperor, in his distress, resolved to despatch an envoy to the great conqueror to solicit peace. This was the subject of Wu-ku-sun's mission. In his narrative nothing is reported regarding his diplomatic negotiations, but his audience with Chinghiz in the country of the Mohammedans and the discourse he had with the emperor are recorded in the Yüan shi, as well as in the T'ung kien kang mu (*vide* p. 33). The anonymous author of the Pei shi ki records the report of the envoy as follows:—

In the seventh month (August) of the year 1220, *Wu-ku-sun Chung tuan*, vice-president of the Board of Rites, was entrusted by the emperor (*U-tu-bu* of the Kin dynasty) with a mission to the northern court. *An T'ing chen*, secretary in the Academy, was appointed his assistant. *Wu-ku-sun* returned in the tenth month (October or November) of 1221,[45] when he addressed me in the following terms:—

I have been sent a distance of ten thousand *li* west of the border of heaven, and not wishing all the curious things I saw in my travels to remain unrecorded, I therefore request you to write down my narrative.

[44] Thus the Mohammedan authors call him. The Yüan shi spells the name *Mu-hua-li*.

[45] This seems to be an erroneous date for his return. In the narrative of Ch'ang ch'un's journey (*vide* p. 72) it is stated that they met the envoy of the Kin on his way back, west of the Talas river, on the 13th of the tenth month of 1221. In Wu-ku sun's biography, the twelfth month (January 1222) is given as the time of his return to China.

In the twelfth month (January) of 1220 I passed the northern frontier (of the Kin empire), and proceeded in a north-western direction, where the ground rises gradually. Advancing parallel with (the northern frontier of) the *Hia* empire,[46] after having travelled seven or eight thousand *li*, I arrived at a mountain. East of it all rivers flow to the east; west of it they run to the west, and the ground gradually descends.[47] Farther on, after travelling four to five thousand *li*, the climate becomes very hot. I passed through more than a hundred cities; not one of them had a Chinese name. Inquiring about the country, I was told that many tribes were living there, namely, the *Mo-li-hi*,

[46] At the time in question there was a Tangut dynasty, *Hia*, reigning over the present Ordos and Kansu, 982–1227.

[47] In Wu-ku-sun's biography the following account of his journey is given:—

"*Wu-ku-sun* and his assistant, *An T'ing chen*, received orders to set out to the Mongol court in order to sue for peace. (On their road) they fell in with the first councillor *Mu-hua-li* (the commander-in-chief of the Mongol army in China. See note 44). An T'ing chen was then retained (by Mu-hua-li), and Wu-ku-sun continued his journey alone. He proceeded along the northern border of the *Hia* empire (*vide* note 46), crossed the *Liu sha* desert, passed over the *Ts'ung ling* mountains, arrived in the *Si yü* (Western countries), and was presented to the emperor (Chinghiz)."

Liu sha, in the above passage, means literally "moving sand." According to ancient and modern Chinese accounts, this desert is situated west of the well-known Chinese barrier *Yü men kuan* (in Kan su). This name *liu sha* appears already in the Chinese classics (Shu king, Tribute of Yü). Przewalsky on his road to Lake Lob-nor, in 1877, mentions this "moving sand."

By the name of *Ts'ung ling* (onion-mountains) the Chinese, since the time of the Han dynasty (second century B.C.), understand the high mountain chain which separates Eastern Turkestan (Kashgar, Yarkand, Khotan, &c.) from Western Turkestan (Kokand and the land on the Iaxartes and Oxus). The passage in Wu-ku-sun's account about the rivers flowing east and west of the Ts'ung ling is borrowed from the Han history. It would seem, therefore, that the route followed by Wu-ku-sun lay south of the T'ien shan mountains (as the way is described by M. Polo). This supposition, however, would be in contradiction with the further account of Wu-ku-sun's journey, where he enumerates a number of tribes and nations who almost all lived north of the T'ien shan. The statements in his narrative are so vague, and the distances given so exaggerated, that it is difficult to draw any conclusion. But it is certain that he returned by the route north of the T'ien shan. See also note 73.

the *Mo-k'o-li*, the *Ho-li-ki-sz'*, the *Nai-man*, the *Hang-li*, the *Gui-gu*, the *T'u-ma*, and the *Ho-lu*; all are barbarian tribes.[48]

Farther on I travelled over several tens of thousands of *li*, and arrived at the city of *I-li* in the country of the *Hui-ho*. There is the residence of the king of (or of a king of) the *Hui-ho*.[49] We were then in the first decade of the fourth month (beginning of May).

The empire of *Ta-shi*, or the great *K'i-tan*, was formerly in the middle of the country of the Hui-ho (Mohammedans). *Ta-shi Lin-ma* belonged to the people of the *Liao*.[50] *T'ai tsu* liked him for his intelligence and eloquence, and gave him a princess as wife.[51] But Ta-shi secretly bore the emperor ill-will. At the time the emperor moved his arms to the west, Ta-shi was at first with him, but afterwards he took his family and fled beyond the mountains (probably Altai). Then he assembled the tribes on the frontier and emigrated to the north-west. On their wanderings they rested at places abounding in water and pastures. After several years they arrived at

[48] All these names can be identified when comparing them with the names of tribes in Mongolia and Central Asia in the days of Chinghiz Khan, as mentioned by Rashid-eddin (d'Ohsson, i. 423 *seqq.*).

The *Mo-li-hi* are probably the *Merkits* (*Mie-li-ki* in the Yüan shi); the *Mo-k'o-li* may be the *Mekrins*. The *Ho-li-ki-sz'* are the *Kirghiz*. Regarding the *Naiman*, see note 98. The *Hang-li* (in the Yüan shi the name is spelled *Hang-li*, but more frequently *K'ang-li*) are the *Kankalis* of the Persian authors. The name *Gui-gu* is probably intended for *Uigur*. The *T'u-ma* are the *Tumats* of Rashid, and the *Ho-lu*, finally, the *Karluks* (*Ha-la-lu* in the Yüan shi).

[49] I repeat that the distances given by Wu-ku-sun must not be taken *au sérieux*. I am not prepared to decide what place he means by *I-li*. There was a city *Ili-balik*, probably on the Ili river. But more likely the author means *Eri* or *Heri*, now-a-days called *Herat* (*vide infra*, note 684).

By *Hui-ho* the Chinese in the seventh and eighth centuries understood the *Uigurs*, which name subsequently was used to designate the Mohammedans in general (*vide* Part II.).

[50] See note 22, and the article on the Karakhitai in Part II.

[51] The author can only mean *T'ai tsu* or *Aguta*, the first emperor of the *Kin* dynasty, 1115–1123. See Part II., article on the Karakhitai, and note 567.

the *Yin shan* mountain,[52] but could not penetrate owing to the rocks and the snow. They were obliged to leave their carts behind, and to carry their baggage on camels. Thus they arrived in the country of the Hui-ho (Mohammedans), took possession of the land and founded an empire. From day to day Ta-shi's power increased; he reigned some thirty years and more, and after death was canonised as *Te tsung*. When he died his son succeeded. The latter was canonised as *Jen tsung*. After his death, his younger sister, by name *Kan*, took charge of the regency; but as she held illicit intercourse and killed her husband, she was executed. Then the second son of Jen tsung came to the throne. Owing to his appointing unworthy officers, the empire fell into decay, and was finally destroyed by the Hui-ho. At the present day there are few of these people left, and they have adopted the customs and the dress of the Hui-ho.[53]

The empire of the *Hui-ho* (Mohammedans) is very vast and extends far to the west. In the fourth or fifth month (May, June) there the grass dries up, as in our country in winter. The mountains are covered with snow even in the hottest season of the year. When the sun rises it becomes hot, but as soon as it sets it gets cold. In the sixth month (July) people are obliged to use wadded coverlets.[54] There is no rain in summer; it is only in autumn that it begins to fall. Then the vegetation shoots forth; and in winter the plains become green like our country in spring, and herbs and trees are in blossom.

[52] The *Borokhoro* or *Talki* mountains, north of Kuldja. See note 17. It is all the more probable that Ta-shi passed by this way to Transoxiana, as the Persian authors state that the Karakhitai before entering Turkestan founded a city on the *Imil* river (north-east of these mountains). Comp. d'Ohsson, i. 442.

[53] A more detailed account of the *Western Liao* or *Karakhitai* is given in the History of the Liao dynasty, a translation of which will be found in Part II. Wu-ku-sun, in his report, has some statements regarding the Karakhitai not found in the Liao history.

[54] Wu-ku-sun speaks probably of the climate in the Hindukush. He presented himself to Chinghiz somewhere in those mountains.

The people (of the Hui-ho) have thick beards, the hair of which is entangled like sheep's wool, and of different colour, black or yellow in different shades.[55] Their faces are almost entirely covered by hair; only the nose and the eyes can be seen. All their customs are very strange. There are the following kinds of *Hui-ho*:—

The *Mu-su-lu-man Hui-ho* (Mussulman) are very bloodthirsty and greedy. They tear flesh with the fingers and swallow it.[56] Even in the time of Lent they eat meat and drink wine.

The Hui-ho of *I-li*[57] are rather weak and delicate; they do not like to kill, and do not eat flesh when they fast.

There are further the Hui-ho of *Yin-du* (Hindustan), who are black and of good character.

Many other things could be reported about these people (of the Hui-ho). The chiefs there choose their servants amongst the black and vilest class of the people of *Yin-du*, and mark their faces by burning. The people are all living in cities; there are no villages. The roofs of their houses are covered with clay.[58] All the woodwork in the houses is carved. They use white glass for their windows and for vessels. The country is very rich in silver, pearls, cotton, hemp, &c. Their arrows, bows, carts, clothes, armour, spears, and vessels are all of strange appearance. They use large bricks for building bridges.[59] Their boats

[55] The statement is perfectly correct. The Persians even now-a-days use to dye the hair of their beards with *henna* (the powdered leaves of *Lawsonia inermis*, also of the *Balsamine*), which produces an orange colour. If afterwards indigo is applied, the hair becomes quite black. But a great part of the men prefer the orange colour for their beards.

[56] It is the custom up to this time, with the Mohammedans in Persia, not to use knives or forks at their meals. They tear the flesh with their fingers. The Chinese never take any meat with their fingers, but use the so-called chopsticks.

[57] The name *I-li* occurs here for the second time in this narrative, although it was rendered above by other characters. See note 49.

[58] As is well known, even now-a-days the flat roofs in Western Asia are covered with clay. The roofs of Chinese houses are covered with roof-tiles.

[59] The Chinese bridges are built of large square stones.

resemble a shuttle. They have the five kinds of corn, and also mulberry trees, as we have in China. Their salt is found in the mountains.[60] They make wine from grapes. There are water-melons weighing sixty pounds. The apples there are very prettily coloured. The onions and melons are also very fine and fragrant. As regards animals, camels are found there, but they have only one hump.[61] The oxen there have a hump on their neck.[62] Their sheep have large tails.[63] There are also lions, elephants, peacocks, buffaloes, and wild asses.[64] There are snakes with four legs.[65] There is also a dangerous insect which resembles a spider: when it bites a man he cries out and dies.[66] In those countries there is a great variety of beasts, birds, fish, insects, &c., not found in China.

There is a hill (or mountain) called *T'a-bi-sz'-han.* It has an extent of fifty or sixty *li*, and appears like a green screen, being covered with forests of *kwi* trees.[67] At the foot of the hill is a spring.[68]

The people are dressed simply. The flaps of their coats have not right and left; all wear girdles. Their clothes, cushions, and coverlets, are all made from wool. This wool grows in the ground.[69] Their food consists of *hu ping* (barbarians' bread), *t'ang ping* (meal-meat), fish, and flesh. The women are dressed in white cloth. They cover their faces with the exception of the eyes. Amongst them there are some who have beards.[70] The women do nothing

[60] Rock-salt. See note 235.

[61] The Mongol camels, well known in China, have two humps.

[62] The *Zébu* (*Bos indicus*), which differs from the common ox in having a hump of fat on the shoulders. See note 335.

[63] The broad-tailed sheep so common in Persia.

[64] *Asinus onager*, in Persian "gur i khar." Common in all the deserts in Persia.

[65] See note 362.

[66] See note 321.

[67] See note 6.

[68] I am not prepared to say what hill or mountain is meant. *Thabbas* in Kuhistan? Perhaps *Tabaristan?*

[69] Cotton is meant. See note 177.

[70] Ch'ang ch'un reports the same curiosity. See note 228.

but sing, dance, &c. Sewing and embroidery are executed by men.[71] They have also performers and jugglers. Their laws are written in Mohammedan letters. For writing they use reeds.[72] At their funerals they never use coffins or sarcophagi. In burying the dead they always put the head towards the west. Their priests do not shave their heads. In their temples no images or statues are seen. It is only in the cities of *Huo chou* and *Sha chou*[73] that statues are found in the temples (of the Mohammedans?) as in China. There they recite also Buddhist books written in Chinese letters. The language of the sacred books of the Hui-ho is unintelligible to the Chinese.

(After Wu-ku-sun had finished his report), *I* (*i.e.*, the author of the article) said to him: Your journey indeed is an extraordinary fact. Anciently, in the time of the Han dynasty, *Chang K'ien* and *Su Wu*[74] were entrusted with missions to far countries. They returned after several years, having endured much suffering, and risked their lives. (Like these men) you penetrated to unknown countries, travelled amongst enemies more than ten thousand *li*, crossed deserts, and accomplished all this for the sake of saving the people.[75] You were quite cheerful,

[71] Schuyler ("Turkestan," i. 188) writes: "In Tashkend embroidery is a trade practised chiefly by the men." Evidently an old practice.

[72] Indeed the Mohammedans up to this time write with a pen made of a kind of reed, which in Persia is called "kalam."

[73] About *Huo chou* or *Karakhodjo*, in the country of the Uigurs, see note 13. *Sha chou* lies in what is now Kan su, west of the barrier of *Kia yü kuan*. These cities lay on the envoy's road, although in the vague itinerary he gives they are not mentioned. See note 47. Regarding the idols of Sha chou, see M. Polo, i. 207; and Przewalski's "Tibet," 101.

[74] *Chang K'ien* is the name of the famous Chinese general who in the second century B.C. was sent to open communication with Western Asia. For farther particulars regarding his mission, see my *Botanicon Sinicum*, 24. *Su Wu* was another Chinese envoy of the Han dynasty sent to the *Hiung-nu* in Mongolia about 100 B.C. The Hiung-nu, after in vain attempting to induce him to turn traitor, banished him to the *Pei hai* (northern sea, or Lake Baikal), where he was tending sheep for many years. Finally the Emperor *Wu ti* succeeded in delivering his faithful minister, who subsequently acquired a great popularity amongst the Chinese.

[75] An allusion to Wu-ku-sun's mission to Chinghiz to sue for peace.

your mind did not falter; and it is remarkable that your face bears no token of fatigue. It is because from youth up your heart has been full of devotion to the throne; and thus you were able to travel amongst the barbarians as gaily as if you had not left home. You have preserved your life and your honour, and your bold feat has made a great sensation amongst your contemporaries. Indeed, you are a glorious man; and it is with great pleasure that I undertake to write your report for the benefit of future historians.

. . . . . .

As Wu-ku-sun in his report says nothing regarding his audience with the Mongol emperor, I may be allowed to translate, for the sake of completeness, from the Yüan shi, what I have found there on this subject. In the annals there, sub anno 1221,[76] it is stated:—

In this year the *Kin* emperor despatched *Wu-ku-sun Chung tuan* to Chinghiz with a letter, in which he begged for peace. He agreed to be the emperor's younger brother (*i.e.*, his vassal), but made the condition to retain the title of emperor.

Sub anno 1221, *ibidem*, we read:—In autumn Wu-ku-sun was presented to Chinghiz in the country of the *Hui-ho* (Mohammedans).[77] The emperor said to him: "I formerly asked of your sovereign to cede the land north of the Yellow River, and to reign over the country south of it with the title of *wang* (king). On these conditions I would have suspended the war. But now *Mu-hua-li* (see note 44) has already conquered all these countries, and you are compelled to sue for peace." Wu-ku-sun then implored the emperor to have pity. Chinghiz replied: "It is only in consideration of the great distance you have come that I can be indulgent. The land north

[76] The Yüan shi, in recording the events during Chinghiz' campaign in Western Asia, is one year in advance. See notes 672, 675.

[77] Compare Wu-ku-sun's conversation with Ch'ang ch'un in the next narrative. See p. 72.

of the Yellow River is in my possession, but there are still some cities in *Kuan si*[78] which have not surrendered. Tell your sovereign to surrender these cities, and then he may reign south of the Yellow River, with the title of *wang*." After this Wu-ku-sun returned home.

[78] *Kuan si* means west of the gate (barrier). Probably the land west of *T'ung kuan*, the important defile on the frontier between Shen si, Shan si, and Ho nan is meant. Richthofen's "China," ii. 451.

III.

SI YU KI:

TRAVELS TO THE WEST OF K'IU CH'ANG CH'UN.

CHA'NG CH'UN (family name *K'iu*) was a Taoist monk of great repute for wisdom and sanctity. He was born A.D. 1148, in *Si hia*, a city belonging to the department of Teng chou fu, in Shan tung. In the beginning of the thirteenth century he was held in great respect at the courts of the *Kin* and the *Sung*.[79] Chinghiz, after his invasion of Northern China, heard of the great sage, and sent him a flattering invitation to come to his court. In the meanwhile, the Mongol chief undertook his expedition to Western Asia, and Ch'ang ch'un was obliged, notwithstanding his advanced age, to abandon his recluse life in the mountains of Shan tung, and expose himself to the dangers of a long journey through Central Asia to Persia and the frontiers of India, where he met the great conqueror. The journey there and back occupied three years, 1221–24.

The *Si yu ki* was not written by Ch'ang ch'un himself, but by *Li Chi ch'ang*, one of his disciples, who accompanied him and kept a diary of the journey. Another admirer of the sage, *Sun si*, published it, and wrote a preface, which is dated 1228.

The Si yu ki is inclued in the *Tao tsang tsi yao*, a great collection of Taoist works. It is also found in the *Lien*

[79] The *Kin* or *Nü-chi* (Churche of the Mongols and the Persian authors) possessed at that time the north of China, whilst the Chinese dynasty of the *Sung* reigned south of the Huai river. Both dynasties were overthrown by the successors of Chinghiz.

yün yi ts'ung shu, a collection of reprints published in 1848 by *Yang*, a learned Chinese in Peking.[80] This account of Ch'ang ch'un's travels has been translated *in extenso* into Russian by the late Archimandrite *Palladius*, and was published, in 1866, in the fourth volume of the "Records of the Pekin Eccles. Mission." Another translation of the Si yu ki was made into French by the late *M. Pauthier* in 1867. But Pauthier translated only a short and very bad extract of the narrative as found in the *Hai kuo t'u chi*, a Chinese geographical work treating of foreign countries, and published in 1844. Besides this, his translation contains so many mistakes, that the whole article becomes unintelligible.

The translation of the Si yu ki which I give in the following pages is not such a complete one as that of Arch. Palladius. I have omitted all the numerous poems composed by Ch'ang ch'un on different occasions during his journey, as well as some conversations on Taoist matters. In some instances I give only a *resumé* of the narrative, when of little interest. But all relating to history and geography is faithfully rendered and accompanied with such notes and commentaries as my acquaintance with the subject permits.

But before entering upon the subject, let me record here an interesting ancient document—the correspondence between Chinghiz and Ch'ang ch'un, preserved in the *Cho keng lu*, a Chinese work written in about the middle of the fourteenth century. See chap. x., article *K'iu chen jen* (K'iu, the man of the truth). The translation of these letters will enable the reader to form a judgment of the character and mode of thought of those illustrious men. Chinghiz, in his simplicity, professes such sound principles of governing people, and his words express such profound truths, that they would be valid even in our days

[80] The same collection contains also the *Si yü ki*, or "Records of the Western World," by Hüen Thsang, translated by Stan. Julien in his "Mémoires sur les Contrées Occidentales," 1858.

and for our countries in Europe. On the other side, Ch'ang ch'un inspires sympathy by his modesty, candour, and sincerity. He seems to have been endowed with high intelligence, knowing well his time and human nature. This was the reason that Chinghiz, who was about to include Northern China in his empire, laid such great stress upon his advice. But there was yet another reason for which the Mongol chief was impatient to make the sage's acquaintance. According to Palladius, Ch'ang ch'un belonged to the Northern Taoist school, to the sect of "the golden lotus," the professors of which called themselves *ts'üan chen*, "the perfect, true, and sainted men." They were all adepts in spiritual alchemy, *i.e.*, they looked in the spiritual world for the *tan* or philosopher's stone, the secret of immortality, &c., which mysteries had been vainly searched after for centuries by material alchemists. One of the first questions Chinghiz addressed to Ch'ang ch'un at his first audience was, "Have you a medicine of immortality?" It is a curious fact that Chinghiz and Ch'ang ch'un died in the same year and in the same month, *i.e.*, in the seventh month of 1227.

With reference to Chinghiz' letter addressed to Ch'ang ch'un, I need not mention that it was not written by himself; he could not write in any language. Evidently the ideas of the conqueror were taken down by a Chinese in his suite, very likely by *Ye-lü Ch'u ts'ai*, his able minister.

This letter, which is written in a classical Chinese style reads as follows:—

"Heaven has abandoned China owing to its haughtiness and extravagant luxury. But I, living in the northern wilderness, have not inordinate passions. I hate luxury and exercise moderation. I have only one coat and one food. I eat the same food and am dressed in the same tatters as my humble herdsmen.[81] I consider the people my

[81] Palladius has found a statement in an ancient Chinese book that the gown of Chinghiz, made of simple stuff, was kept as a relic by his successors, the Mongol emperors of China.

children, and take an interest in talented men as if they were my brothers. We always agree in our principles, and we are always united by mutual affection. At military exercises I am always in the front, and in time of battle am never behind. In the space of seven years I have succeeded in accomplishing a great work, and uniting the whole world in one empire. I have not myself distinguished qualities. But the government of the *Kin* is inconstant, and therefore Heaven assists me to obtain the throne (of the Kin). The *Sung* to the south,[82] the *Hui-ho* to the north,[83] the *Hia* (see note 46) to the east, and the barbarians in the west, all together have acknowledged my supremacy. It seems to me that since the remote time of our *shan yü*[84] such a vast empire has not been seen. But as my calling is high, the obligations incumbent on me are also heavy; and I fear that in my ruling there may be something wanting. To cross a river we make boats and rudders. Likewise we invite sage men, and choose out assistants for keeping the empire in good order. Since the time I came to the throne I have always taken to heart the ruling of my people; but I could not find worthy men to occupy the places of the *three* (kung) and the *nine* (k'ing).[85] With respect to these circumstances I inquired, and heard that thou, master, hast penetrated the truth, and that thou walkest in the path of right. Deeply learned and much experienced, thou hast much explored the laws. Thy sanctity is become manifest. Thou hast conserved the rigorous rules of the ancient sages. Thou art endowed with the eminent talents of celebrated men. For a long time thou hast lived in the caverns of the rocks, and hast retired from

[82] See note 79.

[83] There is some confusion as to the position assigned to these nations.

[84] This was the title of the Khans of the ancient *Hiung-nu* in Mongolia since the second century B.C.

[85] Since the time of the Chou dynasty, 1122–249 B.C., the three *kung* were the highest councillors of the Chinese empire; the nine *k'ing* occupied different parts of the administration.

the world; but to thee the people who have acquired sanctity repair, like clouds on the path of the immortals, in innumerable multitudes. I knew that after the war thou hadst continued to live in Shan tung, at the same place, and I was always thinking of thee. I know the stories of the returning from the river *Wei* in the same cart, and of the invitations in the reed hut three times repeated.[86] But what shall I do? We are separated by mountains and plains of great extent, and I cannot meet thee. I can only descend from the throne and stand by the side.[87] I have fasted and washed.[88] I have ordered my adjutant, *Liu Chung lu* (see note 96), to prepare an escort and a cart for thee.[89] Do not be afraid of the thousand *li*. I implore thee to move thy sainted steps. Do not think of the extent of the sandy desert. Commiserate the people in the present situation of affairs, or have pity upon me, and communicate to me the means of preserving life. I shall serve thee myself. I hope that at least thou wilt leave me a trifle of thy wisdom. Say only one word to me and I shall be happy. In this letter I have briefly expressed my thoughts, and hope that thou wilt understand them. I hope also that thou, having penetrated the principles of the *great tao*, sympathisest with all that is right, and wilt not resist the wishes of the people.

"Given on the 1st day of the 5th month (May 15), 1219."

[86] This is an allusion to two examples from Chinese history, that sages had been invited by emperors to occupy high charges. *Wen wang*, the virtual founder of the Chou dynasty (twelfth century B.C.), found an old man fishing in the *Wei* river, whose conversation proved so sage that the prince begged him to enter his service as minister, and took him along with him in his cart. The other allusion refers to *Chu Ko liang*, who was sought out by *Liu Pei*, the founder of the Shu Han dynasty, whom his fame for wisdom had reached. He was found (A.D. 207) inhabiting a reed hut, and was with difficulty persuaded to abandon his hermit's life.

[87] Chinghiz proposes to Ch'ang ch'un that he should take Chinghiz' place in governing.

[88] A Chinese phrase of politeness, meaning that the host has worthily prepared himself to receive the guest.

[89] In ancient times, in China, the emperor used to send a cart for the sages when inviting them.

Ch'ang ch'un's answer to Chinghiz:—

"*K'iu Ch'u ki*,[90] from *Si hia hien*, devoted to the *tao*, received lately from afar the most high decree. I must observe that all the people near the sea-shore[91] are without talent. I confess that in worldly matters I am dull, and have not succeeded in investigating the *tao*, although I tried hard in every possible way. I have grown old and am not yet dead. My repute has spread over all kingdoms; but as to my sanctity, I am not better than ordinary people, and when I look inwards, I am deeply ashamed of myself. Who knows my hidden thoughts? Before this I have had several invitations from the southern capital[92] and from the *Sung*, and have not gone. But now, at the first call of the *Dragon court* (he means the Mongol court), I am ready. Why? I have heard that the emperor has been gifted by Heaven with such valour and wisdom as has never been seen in ancient times or in our own days. Majestic splendour is accompanied by justice. The Chinese people as well as the barbarians have acknowledged the emperor's supremacy. At first I was undecided whether I would hide myself in the mountains or flee (to an island) into the sea, but I dared not oppose the order. I decided to brave frost and snow in order to be once presented to the emperor. I heard at first that your Majesty's chariot was not farther than north of *Huan chou* and *Fu chou*.[93] But after arriving at *Yen* (Peking), I was informed that it had moved far away, it was not known how many thousand *li*. Storm and dust never cease obscuring the heavens. I am

[90] *Ch'u ki* is the appellation by which the sage uses to designate himself.

[91] *Si hia*, Ch'ang ch'un's native place in Shan tung, was not far from the sea-shore.

[92] *Nan king*, or southern capital at the time of the *Kin* dynasty, was the present *K'ai feng fu* (Ho nan), the residence of the Kin emperor after Yen (Peking) had been taken by the Mongols.

[93] According to the *Ta Ts'ing yi t'ung chi*, ancient *Huan chou* was situated north-east of the Tu shi k'ou gate (great wall), 180 *li* distant, where the present *Kurtun balgasun* stands. Regarding *Fu chou*, see note 108.

old and infirm, and fear that I shall be unable to endure the pains of such a long journey, and that perhaps I cannot reach your majesty; and even should I reach, I would not be good for anything. Public affairs and affairs of war are not within my capacity. The doctrine of the *tao* teaches to restrain the passions; but that is a very difficult task. Considering these reasons, I conferred with *Liu Chung lu*, and asked him that I might wait in *Yen* or in *Te hing* (now Pao an chou) the return of your majesty. But he would not agree to that, and thus I myself undertook to lay my case before the emperor. I am anxious to satisfy the desire of your majesty, and to brave frost and snow, wherefore I solicit the decision (whether I shall start or wait). We were four who at the same time became ordained monks. Three have attained sanctity. Only I have undeservedly the repute of a sainted man. My appearance is parched, my body is weak. I am waiting for your majesty's order.

"Written in the 3rd month (April) of 1220."

Sun Si, in his preface to the *Si yu ki*, says:—

"Ch'ang ch'un was a man of a high perfection. At the time I attained the age of manhood (I had heard much of him, but) I conceived that this venerable man must long ago have soared up to heaven, and after his transformation lived in the company of the clouds in the high spheres of the universe, and was sorry at not having seen him. But in the winter of the year 1219 there was suddenly a rumour that the master,[94] who lived near the sea (in Shan tung), was invited (by Chinghiz) to set out on a journey. In the next year, in spring (1220), he arrived indeed at *Yen king* (Peking), and stayed in the monastery of *Yü sü kuan*. Then I had the satisfaction of seeing him personally. When he sat, his position was immovable, like a dead body; when he stood upright, he resembled a tree; his movements were like the thunder, and he walked like

[94] Ch'ang ch'un is always called *shi* (master) in the narrative.

the wind.[95] From his conversation I learned that he was a man who had seen and heard much. There was no book which he had not read. From day to day I felt an increasing veneration for him. The number of men, attracted by his glory, who solicited the favour of being his disciples, increased every day. When the express (despatched by Chinghiz) arrived for the second time, the master set out for the west. At his departure his disciples asked him when he would return. He said, 'After three years.' This happened in the first month of 1221, and indeed, in the first month of 1224, the master returned from the west after just three years' absence, as he predicted. The master, in his journey to the west, travelled over more than 20,000 *li*. He saw places which are not laid down on our maps, and which are not moistened by rain or dew. Although he was received everywhere with great honours, the journey was very painful for him. Nevertheless he was always cheerful, liked conversation, and wrote verses. He loved nature in her various aspects. At every place he stopped at, he visited all that was remarkable. As regards his views of life and death, he considered them like warmth and cold, but thoughts about them did not perplex his mind. Could he enjoy such perfections if not penetrated by the *tao* (true doctrine)?

"Written in 1228, on the 2nd day of the 7th month."

The Chinese text of the *Si yu ki* begins with a short biography of Ch'ang ch'un, as above related. Then several invitations are referred to which the master received from the courts of the *Kin* and the *Sung*, but were refused.

In the year 1220, the emperor *Ch'eng-gi-sz'* (Chinghiz) sent his adjutant *Liu Chung lu*,[96] with an escort of twenty

[95] All these qualities are considered by the Taoists as marks of a high degree of contemplation and absence of passions.

[96] *Liu Chung lu* was a deserter from the army of the *Kin*, who entered the service of Chinghiz at the time he invaded Northern China. Chinghiz

Mongols, to Ch'ang ch'un, who then was in Shan tung. Liu Chung lu transmitted to him an invitation from the emperor and a golden tablet, on which an order was written to treat the master in the way the emperor himself was wont to be treated. Chung lu reported that in the fifth month (May, June) of 1219 he received from the emperor the order to seek the master. The emperor at that time was in the *wu-li-do*[97] of the *Nai-man*.[98] Ch'ang ch'un agreed to go with Chung lu, and chose nineteen from among his disciples to accompany him. In the beginning (February) of 1220 they set out for the north, and arrived at *Yen* (Peking) towards the end of the second month (beginning of April), where the master was received with great homage.

In *Yen* the master was informed that Chinghiz had moved to the west, and he felt apprehensive that his advanced age would not permit of his enduring the fatigue of a long journey. He wished to await the time of Chinghiz' return in order to be presented, and it was resolved to ask the permission of the emperor. There was yet another question which alarmed Ch'ang ch'un. Chung lu, by order of his sovereign, had assembled a number of girls to be brought to the emperor's harem. The master said, "Owing to actresses having been sent from the kingdom of *Tsi* to the kingdom of *Lu*, Confucius left Lu (which was his native country). Although I am only a savage of the mountains,[99] how can I travel in the

valued him for his skill in making arrows. He accompanied Ch'ang ch'un on the whole journey. In the narrative he is sometimes called *Liu kung*. *Kung* was his title of honour.

[97] *Ordo* in Mongol = imperial residence. See farther on, note 137.

[98] The tribe of the *Naimans* lived, according to Rashid-eddin (d'Ohsson, i. 425), near the sources of the Irtysh river and west and east of the Altai mountains. The Chinese authors assign the same country to them. At the time spoken of (1219) the Naiman were already subdued, and Chinghiz remained for a time in the *ordo* of the Khan of the Naiman, where he prepared for his expedition to the west. See note 5 at the end He left for the west in autumn.

[99] Ch'ang ch'un, when speaking of himself, always uses this modest expression.

company of girls?" In order to lay before the emperor these questions, Chung lu despatched a courier with a report, and the master sent also an address to the emperor.

On the 15th of the fourth month (May 18) 1220, the master with his disciples and Liu kung (see note 96) left Yen (Peking), and travelled to the north. The way led through *Kü yung*.[100] One night, at the northern exit (of the pass), we met a gang of robbers; but they bowed and said, "We do not harm the master."

In the fifth month (June) we arrived at *Te hing*,[101] and passed the summer there in the temple of *Lung yang kuan*.

At the beginning of the winter (1220) *A-li-sien* arrived, sent by the prince *O-ch'en*,[102] and soon after another envoy came. They invited the master to call upon the prince on his way to the emperor. He made an affirmative sign with his head. In the same month, the courier sent to Chinghiz returned, and brought a letter from the emperor to the master, in which the latter was again invited in the most flattering terms. Chung lu also received a letter, with the imperial order to take the greatest care of the sage. The master then conferring with Chung lu said: "Now the winter is beginning, the way through the desert is cold and distant; our companions have not purchased

[100] The *Kü yung* gate exists still in a defile north of Peking, known to European travellers who visit the great wall at this point by the name of *Nan kou* pass. Nan kou is a village at the southern entrance of the pass. See A. Wylie's article "On an Ancient Buddhist Inscription at Keu yung kwan" (*Jour. Roy. Asiat. Soc.*, 1870).

[101] Now the city of *Pao an chou*, north-west of Peking.

[102] Here Chinghiz' younger brother is meant. In the Yüan shi, where he is often mentioned, his name is spelled *O-ch'i-ghin*. Properly his name was *T'ie-mu-go*; O-ch'i-ghin was his surname. *Udjughen*, in Mongol, "little." See Yüan shi, chap. cvii., genealogical table. Rashid calls him *Temugu Udjukin* (d'Ohsson, i. 212, 426). At the time that Chinghiz waged war in the west, his brother Udjukin was entrusted with the government of the Mongol empire. He had his territories and residence in the north-eastern corner of Mongolia, according to Rashid (d'Ohsson, ii. 7), near *Calaltchin alt* and the river *Olkui* (Ulgui on the Russian map).

all things required for such a long journey. Would it not be better to pass the winter in Lung yang kuan, and start in spring?" Chung lu agreed, and so they passed the winter there.

On the 8th of the first month (February 1), 1221, we started again. It was a fine day; the friends of the master brought presents, and standing before his horse, shed tears, and asked him: "Master, you undertake a distant journey of several tens of thousands of *li;* when shall we have the happiness of again bowing before you?" The master replied: "If you will be strong in the faith, I shall meet you again." As the friends pressed the question, he said evasively: "Our staying and our travelling depend not on our own will." But the friends would not desist, and wished a decisive answer. Then the master said: "I will be back in three years—in three years." He repeated it twice.

On the 10th of the first month (February 3, 1221) we passed the night at *Ts'ui ping k'ou.*[103] The next day we passed the defile called *Ye-hu ling.*[104] To the south we saw the *T'ai hang ling*[105] and other mountains. The mountain air was delicious. Towards the north there were only cold sandy deserts and parched grass. Here are the

[103] According to the great Chinese map of China, this is the name of a defile about thirty *li* west of *Kalgan* (Chang kia k'ou).

[104] *Ling* in Chinese means "a pass" and also "a ridge of a mountain." The *Ye-hu* defile or mountain ridge is situated five *li* north of the *Shan fang yi'u k'ou*, one of the gates in the great wall, next to the west after the gate of Kalgan. See my "Recherches Arch. et Hist. sur Pékin," note 190.

In about the middle of the thirteenth century a Chinese traveller, *Chang Te hui*, went from Peking to Karakorum. The narrative of his journey which has been preserved, was translated into Russian by Archim. Palladius in the "Memoirs of the Siberian Section of the Geogr. Soc.," 1867. An English version of the same by Schuyler is found in the *Geographical Magazine*, 1875. Chang Te hui, who in the first part of his journey went by the same way as Ch'ang ch'un, calls this defile *O-hu ling*. *Ye-hu* or *O-hu* represent probably a Mongol word. *Yeke*="big" in Mongol.

[105] Name of the mountains which surround Peking north and west.

limits of the breath of Chinese nature.[106] We saw a field of battle covered with bleached human bones.[107]

Travelling farther to the north, we passed *Fu chou*;[108] and on the 15th (February 8), proceeding in a north-eastern direction, arrived at a salt lake called *Kai-li po*.[109] Here we saw the first settlements—about twenty houses. To

[106] The traveller who proceeds from Peking to Kiakhta has to pass north of Kalgan (a little east of the ancient road followed by Ch'ang ch'un and Chang Te hui) an elevated mountain ridge, and then finds himself on the table-land of Mongolia. Indeed, the change of the climate, vegetation, &c., here is very sudden. My friend Dr. Bushell, in his interesting "Notes of a Journey Outside the Great Wall" (*J. R. G. S*, vol. xliii.), makes just the same remark as the Chinese author made about 650 years earlier on the sudden change of the climate when entering Mongolia. Compare also Przewalsky ("Mongolia," &c., i. 33): "That range, along the axis of which is carried the Great Wall, and which forms (north of Kalgan) so distinct a definition between the high chilly plateau of Mongolia and the warm plains of China." . . . *Ibidem*, i. 131: "On the 6th of May we again stood on that point of the marginal range of Mongolia where the descent to Kalgan commences. Again the great panorama of mountain scenery lay at our feet, the bright green plains of China sparkling like emeralds in the distance. There it is warm and spring-like; here, on the plateau, Nature was only just waking from her long winter's sleep."

[107] It was the place where Chinghiz in 1211 had vanquished the army of the Kin. This battle at *Ye-hu ling* is recorded in the annals of the Yüan shi.

[108] The southern part of the plateau of Mongolia, north of the Great Wall and in the regions here spoken of, represents a vast plain, treeless, but in summer covered with luxuriant grass and abounding in water. This prairie, the imperial pasture-land, extends west and east to a great distance. To the north, a low ridge of hills separates it from the sterile *Gobi* desert. In this "pays des herbes," in ancient times, many fortified places were built to prevent the invasion of the wild hordes of Mongolia into China. *Fu chou* was one of the most important of these places. Ch'ang ch'un, in one of his poems recorded by Palladius, calls it little *Yen* (Peking). But it seems to have been abandoned or destroyed subsequently, for Chang Te hui, who passed there twenty-seven years later, states that only the wall of Fu chou remained. Ancient Fu chou must be looked for, as Archim. Palladius first determined from his own local observation, in the ruins called *Khara balgasun* by the Mongols of the present time. Khara balgasun lies on the road from Peking to Kiakhta, about thirty English miles from Kalgan. See also my "Rech. Arch. et Hist. s. Pékin," note 191.

[109] Perhaps the lake marked *K'o-le hu* on modern Chinese maps. *Hu* and *po* both mean lake.

the south was a salt lake with many sinuosities,[110] which stretched to the north-east. From this (northward) no rivers are met, water being obtained only by wells dug in the sand. Neither are there any considerable mountains for several thousand *li* farther to the north. After five days' travelling on horseback we left the boundary-line called *Ming ch'ang*.[111]

In six or seven days we arrived at a great sandy desert, *ta Sha t'o*.[112] In low places *elm* trees of a dwarf size are found. Some of them are of a considerable circumference;[113] but from this in a north-eastern direction

[110] It is difficult to say what lake is meant, for Mongolia is very rich in salt lakes; but they change often as regards their size or disappear, whilst in other places new lakes arise.

[111] This is a rampart in Southern Mongolia, raised by the emperor *Madaku* of the *Kin* dynasty during the time of his reign, called *Ming ch'ang*, A.D. 1190–96, and from this the name of the wall is derived. See also Chang Te hui's itinerary, *infra*, note 114.

[112] Great *Sha t'o*. This name, *sha t'o*, the Chinese apply to certain portions of the Mongolian desert. *Sha* = "sand," *t'o* = dangerous, rugged, uneven. Thus the name may be translated by "sandy downs." It answers perfectly the nature of that desert spoken of. Przewalsky, who went by the same way as Ch'ang ch'un, states ("Mongolia," &c., i. p. 106): "Twenty-seven miles beyond Dolonnor we entered the aimak of Keshikten. From this point of the road a succession of sandy hillocks, called by the natives *guchin gurbu*. extends as far as the Dalai nor," &c. Przewalsky gives a detailed description of these sand-hills. Marignolli, in the fourteenth century, notices the *cyollos kagon*, or sand-hills thrown up by the wind, on the northern verge of the Mongolian desert. See Yule's "Cathay," 339. There was, in the seventh and eighth centuries, a tribe of the Western *T'u küe* (Turks) called *Sha t'o*, and who had received this name from the desert in which they lived (between the Altai and the T'ien shan). T'ang shu, chap. cclvii. *b*. See also note 151.

It may be here the proper place to say a few words regarding the Chinese names applied to the Mongolian desert. The Mongols call it, as is well known, *Gobi*, and on modern Chinese maps this name is also rendered by *Ge-bi*. An ancient Chinese name for the desert, still in use up to this time, is *Sha mo* (*sha* = sand, *mo* = desert, sandy plain). Another ancient name for the Gobi was *So mo* (northern desert). It was properly applied to the desert extending from Kan chou (in Kan su) east to the Ordos, whilst the waterless solitude west of Kan chou was, and is still, known under the name of *Ta tsi*, also *Sha tsi*. *Tsi* means properly a rock. Compare also note 9 on the desert *Han hai*.

[113] Isolated elm trees (*Ulmus pumila*) are not unfrequent on the Mongolian plateaux, as I know from my own observation. They owe their existence to water-springs in the desert, and are sometimes of a large size

extending more than ten thousand (!) *li*, no tree is to be seen.

We left the sandy desert on the 1st of the third month (March 25, 1221), and arrived at a place called *Yü rh li*,[114] where we began to find settlements. The people for the greater part are engaged in agriculture and fishing.

[114] Let me quote here the diary of Chang Te hui (see note 104), who went by the same way as Ch'ang ch'un as far as this lake: "On the north from *Fu chou* (see note 108) I came to *Ch'ang chou* (according to Palladius' investigations, the ruins called *T'sagan balgasun* by the Mongols, eight miles north-west of Khara balgasun, and, like this place, on the road to Kiakhta). . . . On the east of that city is a salt lake, about 100 *li* in circumference, called the *Dog's lake*, on account of the similarity of its shape to that of a dog (probably the same as the lake with many sinuosities mentioned in Ch'ang ch'un's itinerary). More than 100 *li* north of the city I noticed an old rampart, which stretched far off over the mountains and valleys. On the south a ruined town is joined to it, a fortified place, in which the boundary-guard was quartered. (This is the boundary-line *Ming ch'ang* in Ch'ang chun's itinerary.) From this fort I went four stations more, and then came to the *Sha t'o* desert, in the whole expanse of which there are no stones or clods of earth. From a distance you see, as it were, a chain of low hills and hillocks; but when you come to them they are only sand heaps. The trees which can grow on this soil are only elms and willows, and these are miserable, scattered about, and grow in clusters. The water is everywhere saline. I went in this desert six stations and then came out of it. After that I went north-westerly one station to the lake *Yü rh po*. There are really two lakes, both in circumference more than 100 *li*. Between them is a dry passage from north to south. On the south-west of the lake is the temporary palace of a princess." (Detailed description of the palace.)

The *Yü rh li* of Ch'ang ch'un and the *Yü rh po* of Chang Te hui are the same. *Li* and *po* both mean "lake;" *yü* = to fish. This lake is twice mentioned in the Yüan shi, for the first under its Chinese name *Yü rh li*. Annals, sub anno 1215. It is stated there that Chinghiz encamped near it after returning from his invasion into China. In the biography of *Te sie shan* (Yüan shi, chap. cxviii.) this lake is again mentioned, and the name is written there *T'a-rh nao-rh* (*nor* = lake in Mongol), also *T'a-rh hai-tze* (*hai tze* in Chinese = little sea). Its position is given there as distant 300 *li* north-east of *Shang tu*, the summer residence of Kubilai Khan. In the year 1270 the city of *Ying ch'ang* was founded on this lake. In the great Chinese geography of the empire the same lake, in South-Eastern Mongolia, is called *Pu yü rh hai* (meaning also "fishing lake"). This name is not to be confounded with *Buyür*, a lake in North-Eastern Mongolia. The Chinese geography states that the (modern) Mongol name of the Pu yü rh hai is *T'a li*. In the times of the Mongols there was a junction of several post-roads at this point. Chang Te hui, who went to Karakorum,

At that time it was *ts'ing ming* (fifteen days after the spring equinox), but there was no trace of spring, and the ice was not yet melted.

On the 5th of the third month (March 29) we started again, and travelled in a north-eastern direction. All around we saw habitations, consisting of black carts and white tents.[115] The people here are nomades, and change their abode according to the prevalence of water and pasture. No tree could be seen, and we met only yellow clouds (of dust) and decayed grass.

Finally, after twenty days and more without changing the direction, we reached a sandy river, which flows to the north-west, and discharges itself into the *Lu kii* river.[116]

here turned to the west. Ch'ang ch'un, who was bound to the encampment of the prince Ocheghin, took a north-eastern direction.

The first European who visited the lake in question was Father Gerbillon. See the narrative of his journey from Peking to Nipchu (Nerchinsk), in Du Halde's "China," iv. He saw this lake on the 27th of June 1689, and gives a detailed description of it. He calls it *Taal nor*, and is of opinion that it is about fifteen "lieues" in circumference. According to the Father it abounds in fish. At a distance of half a "lieue" from the lake he saw a ruined pagoda, and a marble slab with a Chinese inscription dating from the Mongol period.

The same lake and the surrounding country were scientifically explored about sixteen years ago by Przewalsky. His accounts of it are in accordance with those of Gerbillon, but he calls it erroneously *Dalai nor*. The real name of the lake is, as I have been informed in Peking, by Mongols from those regions, *Taal nor*, as the Jesuit Father writes the name. *Taal* in Mongol means a plain; *nor*, a lake. According to Przewalsky ("Mongolia," &c., i. 108), this is the largest of the lakes of South-East Mongolia. In shape it is a flattened ellipse, with an axis elongated from north-east to south-west. It is about forty miles in circumference, and lies at an elevation of 4200 feet above the sea; its climate is therefore as rigorous as the rest of Mongolia. In the middle of April its shores were still frozen. It does not entirely thaw till the first half of May. The lake abounds in fish. . . . In early spring several hundred Chinese make their appearance on its shores for the purpose of fishing, and remain till late in the autumn.

[115] Probably the large carts covered with felt—tents on wheels—are meant, as described by Marco Polo, Rubruck, Ibn Batuta, and others. See Yule's "M. Polo," i. 244-246. According to Potanin ("Mongolia," ii. 108), the practice of carrying felt tents upon waggons is now-a-days entirely obsolete in Mongolia.

[116] In ancient Chinese history the *Kerulun* river, in North-Eastern

We crossed the sandy river, the water coming up to the girths of the horses. The borders of the river were overgrown with willow-trees. After travelling three days in a northern direction, we entered the *siao Sha t'o* (little Sha t'o desert; see note 112).

On the 1st of the fourth month (April 23), 1221, we reached the encampment of the prince *O-ch'en* (see note 102).[117] At that time the ice was only beginning to melt, and the first green was seen on the ground. There was a wedding being celebrated, and many Mongol chiefs had arrived with mare's milk. We saw several thousands of black carts and felt tents standing in long rows. On the 7th (April 29) the master was presented to the prince, who asked him about the means of prolonging life. As it would have been unbecoming that the prince should hear the precepts of the master before the master had seen the emperor, it was agreed that on his return the master should call again on the prince. On the 17th the prince ordered that a hundred horses and bullocks should be given to expedite the master, and we started again (May 9).

Our way led in a north-western direction. On the 22d of the fourth month (May 14) we reached the river *Lu-kü* (or *Kerulun*), which here forms a lake of several hundreds of *li* in circumference. When the waves rise by the wind, great fish are thrown out, and the Mongols catch them easily.[118]

We then went along the southern shore of the river

Mongolia, is called *Lu k'ü*. In the Yüan shi it is generally named *K'ie-lu-lien*, which is a transcription of the Mongol name Kerulun. The sandy river crossed by Ch'ang ch'un was probably the *Khalga gol*, which, however, is not a direct affluent of the Kerulun. See also note 127, regarding the Kerulun.

[117] Palladius is of opinion that the encampment of the prince was on the *Khalga* river. But it would seem from the narrative that it was farther to the north.

[118] Palladius thinks that the lake *Buyür* is meant. I may observe that the Buyür is not in direct connection with the Kerulun, but communicates by the river *Orshun* with the great lake *Kulon* or *Dalai nor*, into which the Kerulun discharges itself. It seems to me that the great lake mentioned

(Kerulun). We found abundance of *ye hie*[119] everywhere.

On the 1st of the fifth month (May 23), at noon, an eclipse of the sun happened, while we were on the southern bank of the river. It was so dark that the stars could be seen, but soon it brightened up again.[120]

In this country it is cold in the morning but warm in the evening. We saw *huang hua* (yellow flowers)[121] in abundance. The river flows to the north-east. On both banks of it are many high willow trees, which the Mongols use for making their tents.

After a journey of sixteen days (up the Kerulun, along its southern bank), we arrived at the place where the river changes its direction, winding round the hills to the north-west. We could ascertain nothing about its sources.[122] Farther to the south-west we reached the post-

in the narrative was the Kulon. Father Gerbillon visited these lakes in 1698 (Du Halde's "China," iv.); Pallas, in the last century, saw the Kulon. He states that it is abounding in fish. Gerbillon says the same regarding the Buyür. The Buyür lake is frequently mentioned by Rashid-eddin in connection with the ancient history of the Mongols (d'Ohsson, i. 62, 75, 428, &c.) The lake *Keule* mentioned together with the Buyür on p. 75 is probably the Kulon.

[119] *Hie* is a kind of cultivated *Allium*. *Ye hie*, or wild hie, denotes one of the numerous Allium species of Mongolia. Camels are very fond of them.

[120] This statement gives a stamp of authenticity to the whole narrative. A. Wylie, who, in the first edition of my "Chinese Mediæval Travellers," gives a long and interesting article on the eclipse observed by Ch'ang ch'un, has found by calculation that there was a solar eclipse on May 23d (old style), 1221, central about 3 h. 45 m. civil reckoning at London. All astronomical details furnished by Ch'ang ch'un, in the above passage and farther on, with respect to this celestial phenomenon, are in general in accordance with Wylie's calculations. The same eclipse is also mentioned in the Chinese astronomical annals, and with the same date as given by Ch'ang ch'un. See Gaubil's "Traités de l'Astronomie Chinoise" in Souciet's "Observ. Math. Astron.," &c., iii. 354.

[121] In China the name of *huang hua* is applied to the yellow Day Lily, *Hemerocallis fulva*. This species is hardly found in a wild state in Northern Mongolia. The Chinese author may have seen there *H. graminea* or *H. flava*.

[122] The caravan road from Kiakhta (resp. Urga) to Kalgan passes near the place where the Kerulun, which takes rise in the Kentei mountains,

road, which leads to *Yü rh li*.[123] The Mongols here were very glad to see the master. They brought him millet, and said that they had been waiting for him for a year. The master made them a present of jujubes. They had never before seen this fruit.

From this we travelled ten days. At the time of the summer solstice the shadow (of the gnomon) measured three feet six or seven inches.[124]

Here we noticed the peaks of high mountains; the country we traversed westward was throughout mountainous or hilly.

The population was numerous, all living in black carts and white tents (see note 115). The people are engaged in breeding cattle and hunting. They dress in furs and skins, and live upon milk and flesh-meat.

The men and unmarried young women plait their hair so that it hangs down over their ears. The married women put on their heads a thing made of the bark of trees, two feet high, which they sometimes cover with woollen cloth, or, as the rich used to do, with red silk stuff. This cap is provided with a long tail, which they call *gu-gu*, and which resembles a goose or duck. They are always in fear that somebody might inadvertently run against this

near the Russian frontier, changes its south-eastern direction to a north-eastern. The diarist was mistaken as to the direction of the current of the river. In 1698 Father Gerbillon went by about the same way as Ch'ang ch'un, from the *Kulon* lake upwards along the Kerulun, and to the Orkhon. He mentions rich pastures on the borders of this river. Some thirty years ago the Kerulun valley was surveyed by Russian topographers. See the new Russian map of Asia. See also note 127.

[123] The road followed from *Yü rh li* to *Karakorum* by Chang Te hui (see note 104).

[124] Wylie tries to determine from these indications the position of the travellers. He states: Taking 3 feet 6½ inches as the shadow of an 8-foot stile (the standard used in China from time immemorial), we have the sun's altitude 66° 7′, which must have been in latitude 47° 21′. According to this it is probable they were south of the southern bend of the *Tula* river, somewhere about E. long. 107°; and as four stations farther to the north-west took them across a river, that river was doubtless the *Karuha* (*Kharukha* of the Russian map, an affluent of the Tula).

cap. Therefore, when entering a tent, they are accustomed to go backward, inclining their heads.[125]

These people (the Mongols) have no writing.[126] They settle their matters by verbal convention, and when they enter into contracts they cut certain marks on wood. They are never disobedient to orders, and never break their word. They have preserved the customs of the early ages.

Farther on, after four stations, to the north-west we crossed a river beyond which a plain extended with luxurious grass and abounding in water. The plain was surrounded by mountains with picturesque valleys. On the east and on the west (of the river?) we saw the ruins of an ancient city. We could recognise the position of the streets. There is a tradition that this city was built

[125] *Meng hung*, a Chinese general, contemporary of Chinghiz, has left very valuable accounts regarding the Mongols. He had been in Mongolia, and knew them from his own observation. In his Memoirs he states the following about the coiffure of Mongol ladies: The wives of their chieftains (princes) wear a cap which they call *gu-gu*. It is made from wire, about three feet high, and has the appearance of a bamboo (?) The whole is covered with purple velvet.

Several Western mediæval authors mention this peculiar coiffure of Mongol women, which, according to Potanin's inquiries ("Mongolia," ii. p. 23, note 27), is unknown, now-a-days, in Mongolia. Carpini (615) states on the subject:—

"Mulieres maritatæ super caput habent unum quid rotundum de viminibus vel de cortice factum quod in longum protenditur ad unam ulnam, et in summitate desinit in quadrum: et ab imo usque ad summum in amplitudine semper crescit, et in summitate habet virgulam unam longam et gracilem de auro vel de argento seu de ligno, vel etiam pennam: et est assutum super unum pileolum quod protenditur usque ad humeros; et tam pileolum quam instrumentum prædictum est tectum de bukerano sive purpura vel baldakino; sine quo instrumento coram hominibus nunquam vadunt."

Rubruquis, p. 232: "Mulieres maritatæ habent ornamentum capitis quod vocant *bocca*" (some MSS. have *botta*). After this he describes this coiffure in about the same way as Carpini.

The Mohammedan authors also know this head-dress of the Mongol princesses, and term it *bogtak*. See Quatremère's "Histoire des Mongols de la Perse," i. 102, note, and Yule's "Cathay," 131.

[126] The Uigur writing was introduced by Chinghiz among his people a few years after Ch'ang ch'un visited Mongolia (Palladius).

by the *K'i-tan*. We found, indeed, on the soil a tile with letters of the K'i-tan. This was probably a city founded by those K'i-tan warriors who emigrated, unwilling to submit to the new dynasty.[127]

We were told, also, that the city of *Sün-sz'-kan* (Samar-

[127] Let me quote here the narrative of Chang Te hui's journey (see note 104), who, from the bend of the Kerulun westward, seems to have followed the same route as Ch'ang ch'un. This traveller, after leaving the lake *Yü rh po* (see note 114), went north-westerly twenty stations, and then arrived at a river, which the northern people (Mongols) called *Ki-lu-lien* (Kerulun). His report then continues as follows:—

"On both banks of this river willows grow plentifully. It flows to the east, and has a very rapid current. The natives there say that there are fish in it three and four feet long, which, however, it is impossible to catch either in spring, summer, or autumn; but in winter they make holes in the ice and catch them. Along the river there live Mongols and Chinese together. There are some miserable huts with earthen roofs. The land there is much cultivated, but they only sow hemp and wheat. On the northern side of the river is a large mountain called *K u-su-wu*, that is, "black mountain." If you look at it from some distance there seems to be a thick forest on it, but when you are near, this turns out to be dark stones, which receive this colour from the constant mists on the mountains."

Palladius is right in identifying this with the mountain called now-a-days *Tono*, about which the Kerulun, running from the north, makes a semicircle so as to turn to the east. Gerbillon saw the Tono in 1696.

Our traveller continues: "From the southern side of the mountain I went south-west nine stations, and came to another river, in width and depth equal to one-third of the river Ki-lu-lien. Here there are also large fish, which are caught in the same way. The river runs to the west, and is exceedingly swift, so that it is impossible to cross it. In the northern language (Mongol) it is called *Hun Du-la*, that is, 'the hare.'"

Tulai in Mongol means "a hare." No doubt here the river *Tola* is meant, which the caravans from the south going to Urga have to pass. The traveller evidently did not cross it, and went along its southern bank. The Tola from Urga runs about a hundred miles in a south-western direction, and then turns to the north. The *T'u-la* or *T'u-wu-la* river is often mentioned in the Yüan shi. Rashid-eddin calls it *Tula*, sometimes *Tura*. With respect to *Hun*, prefixed to the name of the river, see note 308.

The traveller continues: "I went down the river (Tola) one station to an ancient town (not 'wooden town,' as Mr. Schuyler repeatedly translates) constructed by the *K'i-tan*. It is about three *li* in circumference; the back is turned to the mountain, the front to the river. From this place the river runs to the north."

After that the traveller went in a north-western direction, to a lake called *U-u-gie-nao-rh* (the *Ugei nor* of modern maps of Mongolia), from which there was a carriage road to *Ho-lin* (*Karakorum* see note 304),

kand; see note 29) lay more than 10,000 *li* to the south-west, that it was built on the best place in the country of the *Hui-ho* (Mohammedans), and that it was the capital of the K'i-tan dynasty, of which seven emperors have reigned there.[128]

situated from the lake south-west about 100 *li* distant. It does not seem that Chang Te hui visited Karakorum, but he crossed the river on which the modest Mongol capital stood. The traveller further states:—

"From the lake (Ugei nor) directly west is a small ancient city also constructed by the *K'i-tan*. To the west the city opens on a broad valley, 100 *li* in circumference. Around it are mountains on every side. . . . In the middle of it runs the river *Ho-lin* (the Orkhon).

From this place Chang Te hui went to the summer residence of Kubilai Khan, which was beyond the river *Ta-mi* (Tamir), somewhere in the Khangai mountains.

After this digression let us return to Ch'ang ch'un's itinerary. Where was the river he crossed beyond which a plain extended, surrounded by picturesque mountains, and on which a ruined city of the K'i-tan stood? It cannot be denied that these particulars bear a striking resemblance to the description Chang Te hui gives of the plain in which the *Ho-lin* (*Orkhon*) river runs, and where he notices a city of the K'i-tan. But he mentions also the ruins of a K'i-tan city on the *Tola* river, and Palladius thinks that Ch'ang ch'un crossed this river. That is, however, not probable, for then the traveller would have been obliged to cross the river a second time. Wylie (see note 124) and Paderin look for the K'i-tan city in question on the *Karuha* river, which is an affluent of the Tola. It is difficult to trace Ch'ang ch'un's route precisely.

The regions here spoken of have repeatedly been traversed during the last twenty years by Russian officers; for the straight road from Urga to Uliassutai passes by the above-mentioned lake Ugei nor and crosses the Orkhon and other tributaries of the Selenga. In 1873 M. Paderin discovered what he believes to be the ruins of ancient Karakorum. An English translation of his report, annotated by Colonel Yule, is found in the *Geographical Magazine*, 1874. About ten years ago Professor Pozdneyeff visited the valley of the Orkhon. See his "Mongol annals Erdeniin," 1883. In 1879 Colonel Pevtsoff went from Urga to Uliassutai. He published, in 1883, an interesting book on his travels in Mongolia, and appended to it an excellent map of Mongolia, the best now existing.

Regarding the K'i-tan, see note 22. Palladius states on the subject: "The K'i-tan of the tenth and eleventh centuries left traces of their rule in all the countries which touch China on the north. Ruins of their fortifications and towns are met with not only on the Tola, but on the Kerulun and in Manchuria. The K'i-tan letters, mentioned by Ch'ang ch'un, were formed on the basis of the Chinese characters. Specimens of them are preserved on the *Shu shi hui yao*.

[128] According to the Persian historiographers, the Karakhitai were often at war with Khovarezm, and may have possessed Samarkand for a time.

On the 13th of the sixth month (July 3), 1221, we passed over a mountain called *Ch'ang sung ling* (mountain of high pines), and stopped on the other side. There were many pines and *kuai* trees (see note 139). They grow so high as to reach the clouds, and so dense that the sunbeams cannot penetrate them. They predominate in the valleys on the northern slope of the mountain. On the southern slope few are found.[129]

On the 14th (July 4) we passed over a mountain crossed a shallow river, and passed the night in a plain. It was frightfully cold, and the next morning we found a thin coat of ice on the water. The natives said that generally in the fifth or sixth month snow begins to fall in this country, and that, happily, this year it was not so cold as in other years; therefore the master changed the name of the mountain into *Ta han ling* (mountain of the great cold). Rain here is always accompanied by hail.[130]

Thence we went more than a hundred *li* to the south-west, through a mountainous country, on a winding road. There was a stony river, more than fifty *li* long, the banks of which were about a hundred feet high. The water in the river was clear and cold, and bubbled like sonorous jade. On the steep bank we saw a large kind of onion, three or four feet high.[131] In the valleys splendid pine trees were growing, of more than a hundred feet in height. The mountains stretched to the west in a continuous chain, all covered with tall pine trees. We were five or six days travelling in these mountains, the road winding round the peaks. It was magnificent scenery, the slopes of the

[129] Przewalsky ("Mongolia," i. 7), Pevtsoff, Gerbillon, make the same observation with respect to the mountains of Mongolia. Kostenko ("Turkestan," i. 95) states that in the T'ien shan also forests are found only on the northern slopes, whilst the southern slopes of it are destitute of trees. This striking fact is also reported by Elias (p. 129, note) with respect to the mountains of Mongolia.

[130] Carpini, 610: "De dispositione aëris in terra Tartarum: Ibi est etiam in æstate subito magnus calor, et repente maximum frigus.—Grando ibi sæpe cadit maxima." . . .

[131] Probably *Allium fistulosum*, according to Potanin.

rocks covered with noble forests, with the river gliding through the depths below. On level places pines and birches were growing together. Then we ascended a high mountain which resembled a large rainbow, overlooking an abyss of several thousand feet deep. It was dreadful to look down to the lake in the depth.[132]

On the 28th of the sixth month (July 18) we stopped to the east of the *wu-li-do* (*ordo*, see note 137) of the empress.[133] Chung lu (the adjutant) sent an express to

[132] Although it is impossible to ascertain the route followed by Ch'ang ch'un since he left the bend of the Kerulun, there can, however, be no doubt that he traversed the mountainous country watered by the Orkhon, Tamir, and other affluents of the Selenga. Perhaps he proceeded partly by the afore-mentioned straight road from Urga to Uliassutai, which crosses those rivers. At any rate he passed over the high range of mountains stretching from north-west to south-east and forming the watershed which divides the basin of the Selenga from that of the Dsabkhan and the lakes east of the Altai. This chain is known to the Mongols by the name of *Khangai*. The description given by the Chinese traveller of the inhospitable mountains they passed through agrees well with the Khangai, which in some places rises to a considerable elevation. Shishmareff, who at the end of July 1868 visited Uliassutai, situated at an elevation of 5400 feet, on the western slope of this mountain, saw one of its summits there covered with snow ("Peterm. Geogr. Mitth.," 1870, p. 116). There is a defile of nearly 10,000 feet elevation north-east of Uliassutai, marked on Potanin's map. This able explorer of Western Mongolia has tried to trace Ch'ang ch'un's itinerary over the Khangai (Potanin's "Mongolia," i. 235, *seqq.*) He comes to the conclusion that the Chinese traveller came out from it near the present Uliassutai.

Khangai is an ancient name. The *Han hai* mountain is mentioned in the Yüan shi, annals *sub anno* 1204, with reference to Chinghiz Khan's war with the Naimans. The same name is found there, *sub anno* 1289, Kublai Khan's war with Kaidu. On the same occasion Rashid-eddin notices (d'Ohsson, ii. 461) that the dominions of Kubilai and Kaidu were separated by the mountains *Kangkai* and the *Kobi* desert. On modern Chinese maps the name is spelled *Hang-ai*.

Potanin identifies the "mountain of high pines" of Ch'ang ch'un with a mountain which the Mongols call *Undur shana* (high pine), an eastern branch of the Khangai,—and the "stony river" of the Chinese traveller, with the *Chilotu* (meaning "stony" in Mongol), a southern affluent of the Selenga. The Undur shana lies east of the Chilotu. The lake beneath the mountain, resembling a rainbow, in the Chinese account, is, according to Potanin, the *Chagan nor*, from which the Chilotu river comes out.

[133] The Chinese commentator of Ch'ang ch'un's travels explains that they arrived at the temporary residence of one of the principal wives of

announce our arrival, and the empress immediately sent an invitation to the master. We crossed a shallow river which flows to the north-east, the water of which came only up to the axle of the cart, and then entered the encampment. On the southern bank of the river there were more than a thousand carts and tents.

The Chinese princess and the princess of *Hia*[134] both sent presents of millet and silver. At this place eighty *kin* of flour cost fifty *liang*;[135] for the flour is brought from beyond the *Yin shan*,[136] a distance of more than 2000 *li*, on camels, by the Western barbarians. Although it was the hot season we had no flies in our tents. *Wu-li-do* (in Mongol) means in Chinese *hing kung*.[137] Carts and tents had all a magnificent appearance, such as was unknown to the ancient *Shan yü*.[138]

On the 9th of the seventh month (July 29), 1221, we left the *Ordo*, and travelled in a south-western direction five or six days. Several times we saw snow on the tops of the mountains, and at their base we often met with grave-mounds. On the top of one of the mountains we found traces of sacrifices offered to the spirits (of the mountains). After two or three days we passed over a mountain which rises in the form of a pointed peak. It

Chinghiz. The Yüan shi states (chap. cvi.) that Chinghiz had four *ordo*, in every one of which one of his principal wives resided with a number of concubines. This *ordo* of the empress seems to have been, as Potanin judiciously assumes, on the river *Eter*, one of the sources of the Selenga.

[134] Here the princesses of the emperors of the *Kin* and the *Hia* (Tangut, see note 46) are meant. Chinghiz, after vanquishing these sovereigns, took their princesses as concubines. This is reported also in the Yüan shi. Rashid (d'Ohsson, i. 418) calls the Kin princess, taken for wife by Chinghiz, *Gukdju*.

[135] One *kin*, now-a-days = 1⅓ pound; one *liang* of silver = about six shillings.

[136] The *T'ien shan*, the Celestial Mountains. See notes 4, 152.

[137] *Hing* = to go, *kung* = palace. *Hing kung* = movable palace. By *wu-li-do* the Mongol word *Ordo* is rendered. Carpini writes *orda*, and gives a correct definition of the word in stating, p. 609: "Sic enim apud Tartaros stationes imperatoris et principum appellantur." Rubruk, 267, translates this term by "imperial court."

[138] See note 84.

was covered with pines and *kuai* trees.[139] To the west was a lake. We passed through a vast defile to the south, and found a river flowing westward.[140] On the northern side we saw a great variety of trees, and for more than twenty *li* we found on our road abundance of *kiu*[141] and fragrant grass. To the north lay ruins of an ancient city, *Ho-la-siao*.[142]

Proceeding to the south-west, we passed about twenty *li* through a sandy desert, where water and grass were scarce. There we saw the first *Hui-ho* (see note 149), who were occupied irrigating their fields by means of aqueducts. After five or six days' travelling we reached a mountain, and having passed on its southern side, rested at a Mongol encampment (station), passing the night in a tent. At daybreak we started again, and travelled along the *Nan shan* (southern mountains), on which we saw snow.[143] The master wrote a poem (detailing his journey from Fu chou to the mountains mentioned). At the station we were told that to the north of these snowy mountains is *T'ien Chen-hai ba-la-ho-sun*. Ba-la-ha-sun (balgassun) is the same as "city" in Chinese. There are

[139] *Kuai* is a coniferous tree, according to the Dictionary of the T'ang dynasty, identical with the *kui* or *Juniperus;* but here probably *larch* trees are to be understood.

[140] Potanin (*l. c.*) thinks that the pointed peak in the narrative is the *Otkhon khairkhan*, one of the snowy summits of the Khangai, east of Uliassutai. At the foot of it is a lake, at the sources of the Bogdyn river. The river flowing westward, after Ch'ang ch'un had come out from the defile, was, according to Potanin, the *Uliassutai* river. Here the traveller found himself west of the Khangai range.

[141] *Kiu* in China is *Allium odorum;* frequent in the Peking mountains, and also much cultivated.

[142] This name bears some resemblance to *Uliassutai*. The city of this name dates only from the middle of the last century, but the river Uliassutai, near which it is situated, was probably long ago known by this appellation. Uliassu means a poplar. Uliassutai is the adjective form.

[143] Potanin is embarrassed in tracing Ch'ang ch'un's road west of the Khangai mountain. Between this range of mountains and the Altai (noticed farther on in the narrative) there are no mountains of a considerable elevation. Besides this, the diarist does not mention the crossing of the Dsapkhan river.

magazines of corn; therefore the city is also called *ts'ang t'ou* (the head of magazines).[144]

On the 25th of the seventh month (August 14) a number of Chinamen, artisans and workmen, who lived there (compare note 144), came in procession to see the master. They were all ravished; met him with exclamations of joy, bowed before him, and accompanied him with variegated umbrellas and fragrant flowers. There were also two concubines of the Kin emperor, *Chang tsung*,[145] and the mother of a Chinese princess, who met the master with exclamations and tears. The latter said: "For a long time I have heard of your reputation and your virtues, and was always grieved at not having seen you; but now, unexpectedly, I have met you in this country."

The next day *Chen-hai* arrived from the northern side of the *A-bu-han* mountain.[146] Ch'ang ch'un said to him that he was much surprised at seeing the people ruled by Chen-hai carrying on agriculture, for in the desert this is a rarity. He also asked Chen-hai's opinion about the

[144] *T'ien* means "field" in Chinese. *Chen-hai* was the name of a high officer in the service of Chinghiz. His biography is found in the Yüan shi chap. cxx. There it is stated that Chinghiz established a military settlement at *A-lu-huan*. A city was built there, and Chen-hai was appointed to the government of the place. This explains the above name. There were 300 families and more from Western Asia, employed in weaving gold brocade, and 300 from *Pien king* (now Kai feng fu in Ho nan) making woollen cloth. Chen-hai is stated in this biography to have been minister during the reign of Ogotai and Kuyuc, Chinghiz' successors. This must be the *Chingcaï* mentioned by Rashid. D'Ohsson (ii. 183) calls him "le chancelier Tchingcaï." Carpini (763, 764) speaks also of the Chancellor Chingay, with whom he conferred at the court of Kuyuc. According to Rashid, Chingcaï was an Uigur, and was killed by order of the Emperor Mangu (d'Ohsson, ii. 269). The Yüan shi does not speak of his perishing by a violent death. As to the situation of the ancient Chinese colony, Potanin conjectures that it was somewhere near the *Tsastu-bogdo* mountain, an eastern branch of the Altai, about 46° 40′ N. lat.; but it seems to me that it was farther to the north.

[145] These concubines had been taken by Chinghiz after the surrendering of Yen (Peking).

[146] Evidently the same as the *A-lu-huan* in Chen-hai's biography. (See note 144.) We shall see afterwards that this mountain was about 1000 *li* south-east of the Upper Yenissey. See note 262.

question of remaining there and waiting the return of the emperor. Chen-hai declared that he lately had received orders from Chinghiz to expedite the master when he arrived in this country, as soon as possible, and that he would be responsible for the master's staying there for any length of time. He manifested his intention to go with the master, so that the latter could not object, and decided to proceed on his journey again. Chen-hai observed further, that in the regions they would have to pass through now there were precipitous mountains and large marshes which could not be traversed by carts. He proposed to travel on horseback, and to restrict the number of the suite and the carts. The master agreed, and left nine of his disciples behind. A monastery was built for them, in the construction of which everybody assisted —the rich with money and the workmen with their labour; so that in less than a month the edifice was finished. It was named *Si hia kuan* (Si hia was the name of Ch'ang ch'un's native place).

On the 8th of the eighth month (August 26), 1221, the master started again, taking with him ten disciples. There were only two carts with the caravan, and more than twenty Mongols from the station (encampment) accompanied him. Liu kung (see note 96) and Chen-hai had also a hundred riders with them. The way led to the west, in the vicinity of high mountains. One of the servants of Chen-hai reported that these mountains had a bad fame for their goblins, and that once a goblin pulled him by the hair. Chen-hai narrated further, that once it occurred also to the Khan of the *Naiman* (see note 98), who passed through this country, to be charmed by a goblin, and that he was obliged to offer a sacrifice to him. The master did not make any remark on these tales.

After having travelled south-westward about three days, we turned to the south-east, passed a great mountain, proceeded through a vast defile, and on the 15th of the eighth month (September 2) we were at the north-

eastern side of the *Kin shan* mountains (the Altai; see note 5). We stopped here for some time, and then went south. These mountains are very high and vast, with deep defiles and long slopes. There is no road for carts. The road over these mountains was planned and constructed by the third prince, at the time the army went to the west.[147] The hundred riders (who formed the escort) were ordered, at difficult ascents, to pull our carts by ropes, and to place drags upon the wheels when descending. In the space of about three stations (three days' journey) we crossed successively three ridges of mountains, and arrived then at the southern side of the mountain (they had now crossed the Kin shan), where we stopped near a river, at a place abounding in water and grass.[148] Here tents were pitched, and we were waiting several days for bullocks and horses. The master (profiting from this rest) made three poems (in which he celebrates the scenery of the Kin shan).

After having crossed the river, we proceeded southward and passed over a low mountain with stones of different colours. On the sides of this mountain no tree or grass was found. Within seventy *li* we saw two red-coloured hills; and thirty *li* farther, stopped at a fresh-water well in the midst of a salt desert, where we prepared our food

[147] Ogotai, the third son of Chinghiz, who probably preceded the bulk of the Mongol army proceeding on this way to the west in 1219.

[148] From the statement, that in the defile Ch'ang ch'un passed through, the road had been prepared for the passage of the Mongol army, we may conclude that he went by the same way as Chinghiz Khan and Ye-lü Ch'u tsai (see the first narrative), but unfortunately the geographical definitions in the narratives of the Chinese travellers are so vague that it is impossible to decide where they crossed the Altai range. As the defile of Dabysten daban is the less difficult among the passes leading over that mountain chain, the Mongol armies and our travellers may have passed by this defile. But, on the other hand, the rich pastures noticed in the above text and the river the travellers had to cross would lead us to suppose that they had come down from the Ulan daban pass to the Bulgun river. Compare note 5.

with this water. The grass around the well was much trampled down by sheep and horses.

Chung lu then had a conference with Chen-hai about our journey. He said: "We are come now to the most difficult part of the road; what is your opinion?" Chen-hai replied: "I have known these places well for a long time;" and addressing the master he said: "We have before us the *po ku t'ien* (field of white bones). It is thickly strewn all over with black stones. We have to travel more than 200 *li* to reach the northern border of the *Sha t'o* (sandy desert; see note 112), where we shall find plenty of water and grass; then we have to cross the great *Sha t'o*, in extent about 100 *li* (from north to south). This desert extends west and east, I cannot tell exactly how many thousand *li*. On the other (southern) side of the desert is a town of the *Hui-ho*.[149] There only shall we find water and grass again." The master asked: "What do you mean by 'field of white bones'?" Chen-hai replied: "That is an old battlefield —a field of death. At one time a whole army perished there by exhaustion; no one escaped. A short time ago, at the same place, the army of the *Nai-man* was destroyed.[150] Whoever crosses the desert in the daytime and in clear weather (*i.e.*, exposed to the sun) will die from fatigue, and his horse also. Only when starting in the evening, and travelling the whole night, is it possible to reach water and grass on the next day by noon."

After a short rest we started in the afternoon. On our road we saw more than a hundred large sand-hills, which seemed to swim like big ships in the midst of the waves. The next day, between eight and ten o'clock in the morning, we reached a town. We did not get tired travelling at night-time, only we were afraid of being charmed by goblins in the darkness. To prevent charms,

[149] By *Hui-ho* Mohammedans in general are to be understood. See note 49.

[150] By Chinghiz. See note 98.

we rubbed the heads of our horses with blood. When the master saw this operation he smiled and said: "Goblins flee away when they meet a good man; as it is written in the books. It does not suit a Taoist to entertain such thoughts."

At sunset we started again, leaving behind on the road all our tired-out bullocks, and put six horses to every cart; henceforth we used no more bullocks.[151]

At the time we were still at the northern border of the great desert, we had observed on the southern horizon something like a silver-hued morning twilight. We asked

[151] The above accounts in the narrative refer to the inhospitable barren solitudes which extend between the Altai chain and the Celestial Mountains, and which on the west are bordered by the Dsungarian mountains. During the space of the last ten years, these uninhabitable tracts, suitable only for wild horses and wild camels, and for which Przewalsky proposes the name of *Dsungarian desert*, have been repeatedly traversed, in various directions, by Russian travellers. Captain *Sosnowsky*, and his companions of travel, crossed it, when returning from China, between the city of *Ku ch'eng* and the Russian military station of *Zaisan*, in September 1875. The expedition was near perishing during this passage. Such accidents are not uncommon in these regions. See Dr. Piassetsky's "Travels in China," ii. 483 *seqq.*—*Przewalsky*, from October to December 1877, went by the same way, from Zaisan to Ku ch'eng and back. And in 1879, in spring, the intrepid traveller again crossed the same desert, proceeding from lake *Ulungur* (Kizilbash) up the rivers *Urungu* and *Bulgun*, and then turning to the south, went to *Barkul*. See his "Tibet," 21 *seqq.* —*Potanin*, on his journeys from *Kobdo* to *Barkul*, and from *Hami* to *Uliassutai*, in 1877, had to cross the most eastern narrowed portion of the same desert. See "Mongolia," i. 145, 181.—Potanin gives also (*l. c.* i. 124 *seqq.*) two itineraries of Russian commercial caravans proceeding, in 1877, *from Kobdo, viâ* Ulan daban and Bulgun river, to *Ku ch'eng*.

The Dsungarian desert is described by Przewalsky and the other travellers as an elevated (from 1800 to 2500 feet) barren plain, for the greater part destitute of water, sandy in some parts; in other places thickly covered with pebble. This latter is, as Potanin notices (i. 146), of a black colour, and gives to the desert a peculiar darkish aspect. Compare the statement in the Chinese account that all over it was thickly strewn with black stones.—Piassetsky compares the sand-hills in this desert (*sha t'o* in the Chinese text, see note 112) to the waves of the sea. The Chinese diarist makes a similar comparison. The Russian caravan had to cross, before reaching Ku ch'eng, a desert consisting of sand-hills, and extending for eighty *versts* from north to south.

Although it is impossible to determine the line actually followed by

our companions, but nobody knew what it was. Then the master said: "That must be the *Yin shan* mountain chain."[152] The next day, after crossing the desert, we met some woodcutters, and asked them. They confirmed the words of the master. It was the Yin shan.

On the 27th of the eighth month (September 14), 1221, we arrived at the northern side of the *Yin shan*. There was a small town (the town of the Hui-ho, spoken of by Chen-hai). The Hui-ho came to meet the master, and the chief of the town presented fruits and Persian linen cloth (*Po-sz' pu*). He told us that 300 *li* distant, on the other side of the *Yin shan*, there was the city of *Huo chou*;[153] that it was very hot there, and that Huo chou was celebrated for the abundance of grapes.[154]

The next day we proceeded westward along a river, and passed two small towns. At this time (middle of September) wheat was just beginning to get ripe. The land was artificially irrigated by spring-water (conducted from the mountains), for rain is rare there.

Travelling farther to the west, we reached a large city called *Bie-sz'-ma*.[155] The *wang* (ruler or prince), the officers, the people, the Buddhist and Taoist priests, &c.,

Ch'ang ch'un in crossing the Dsungarian desert, we may conjecture that his guides had chosen the shorter and at the same time less dangerous route, *i.e.*, from the Bulgun river or the Urungu to about the spot where now Ku ch'eng stands. There is now, as Przewalsky states, a road practicable for carts connecting Ku ch'eng with Bulun tokhoi *viâ* the Urungu river.

[152] The *T'ien shan* or Celestial Mountains; see note 4. This immense chain can be seen from the Dsungarian desert at a distance of more than 200 versts. Piassetsky, *l. c.*, ii. 490; Przewalsky, "Tibet," 45.

[153] About *Huo chou*, comp. note 13 and p. 16 text. It is the *Karakhodjo* of the Persian historiographers. In 1879 Dr. A. Regel visited the vast ruins of this city, situated forty versts east of Turfan. See Peterm. "Geogr. Mitth.," 1880, p. 207, and the map (18) appended.

[154] Dr. Regel, *l. c.*, 204, notices the excellent grapes of Turfan.

[155] *Bishbalik* is meant; see note 157. Ye-lü Ch'u ts'ai (see note 8) writes the name more correctly *Bie-shi-ba*. I may observe that the Mongols in ancient times, in pronouncing foreign words, frequently confounded *b* or *p* with *m*. Thus Rashid, on the authority of the Mongols, writes Kai min fu instead of Kai ping fu. M. Polo (i. 26) writes Kemenfu.

came long distances out of the city to meet the master. We lodged in a vineyard west of the city. The relatives of the *wang* of the Hui-ho brought wine made of grapes,[156] various fruits, &c. The devotion the people felt for the master increased from day to day. In his company were seen Buddhists, Taoists, and Confucionists. The master inquired much about the country and its customs. They told us that at the time of the T'ang dynasty (618–907) this city was the *tuan fu* of *Pei t'ing*,[157] and that up to this time the frontier towns established by the T'ang still exist. They related further, that several hundred *li* to the east is a *fu* (city of a department) called *Si liang*,[158] and 300 *li* to the west a *hien* (district city) called *Lun t'ai*.[159]

The master asked what they reckoned the distance to the place where the emperor (Chinghiz) then was. All agreed in estimating it at 10,000 *li* and more to the south-west.

On the 2d of the ninth month (September 19) we started again, and after four days' journey westward, stopped east of the city of *Lun t'ai* (see note 159), where the chief of the *Tie-sie*[160] came to meet us.

[156] Chinese wine is made of rice.

[157] *Pei t'ing* in Chinese means "northern court." In the seventh century (T'ang period) this was one of the residences of the *T'u-küe* (Turks). After the latter had submitted to the Chinese, Pei t'ing in 702 became the seat of a Chinese governor-general, *tu hu fu*. I cannot explain why the above text has *tuan fu*. In 981, when Wang Yen te visited the Uigur country, Pei t'ing belonged to the Uigurs. In the days of Chinghiz this place was called Bishbalik (*i.e.*, Five cities), and was the capital of the Uigurs. Klaproth in his "Mém. rel. à l'Asie," ii. 355 *seqq.*, has pointed out that the site of ancient Bishbalik answers to the present *Urumtsi*.

[158] *Si liang* of that time was the present *Liang chou fu* in the province of Kan su. This place, however, was not to the east, but to the south-east of Bishbalik, and at a considerable distance. There must be an error, or the author speaks of another city of this name.

[159] The same place is mentioned in the itinerary of Ye-lü Ch'u t'sai, 200 *li* west of Bishbalik. This author, as well as the diarist of Ch'ang ch'un's travels, place it north of the T'ien shan. As has been observed in note 12, it would seem that the *Lun t'ai* of the Han dynasty must be looked for south of these mountains.

[160] According to Palladius ("Ancient Traces of Christianity in China,"

To the south, on the *Yin shan* mountains, we saw three rugged peaks supporting the heavens.[161] The master dedicated a long poem to them.

After having passed two towns, we arrived on the 9th of the ninth month (September 26) at a city of the *Hui-ho* called *Ch'ang-ba-la*.[162] The *wang* (ruler, prince) there was a *Wei-wu-rh*.[163] He was an old friend of Chen hai, and came with his relatives and priests of the Hui-ho to meet us far outside of the city. After our arrival there, he presented us a dinner on a terrace, and his wife regaled us with wine. They brought also very heavy water-melons and sweet melons.

The master received the visit of a Buddhist priest, and

Russ. Orient. Record, i. 25–63), *Tie-sie* is the Chinese transcription of the word *tersa*, used by the Persians since the time of the Sassanides to designate the Christians, and sometimes also the Fire-worshippers and Magi. The name of *Tarse* is applied expressly to the kingdom of the *Yogurs* (Uigurs) by Haithon the Armenian in his account of the kingdoms of Asia (beginning of the fourteenth century). John of Montecorvino, in a letter written at Peking at about the same time, speaks of *Tarsic* characters, meaning evidently Uigur letters. Yule thinks ("Cathay," 205) that the application of this term to the Uigurs indicates the extensive prevalence of Nestorian Christianity among them.

[161] I have little doubt that Ch'ang ch'un here saw the *Bogdo ola*, the lofty solitary mountain situated between Urumtsi, Turfan, and Ku ch'eng, connected, however, with the main chain of the T'ien shan. It rises skyward with its threefold snow-covered summit to an elevation of about 14,000 feet, and has produced a stupendous impression upon all modern travellers who saw it from the desert. According to Przewalsky, it is visible at a distance of 250 versts. Dr. A. Regel, in the map of these regions (see note 153), represents the Bogdo ola in profile. Pevtsoff visited this mountain in 1876.

[162] The name of this place was probably *Djambalik*. Balik means city. A city *Chang-ba-li* is repeatedly mentioned in the Yüan shi. It appears also on the Chinese mediæval map, west of *Bie-shi-ba-la*. Haithon, king of Little Armenia, on his way back from Mongolia, mentions *Djambalekh*, west of Bishbalik. Djambalik was evidently situated on the great highway leading along the northern slope of the T'ien shan, as now-a-days, to the Sairam lake, and farther on to the Ili valley. Dr. A. Regel, who proceeded by this way from Urumtsi to Kuldja, marks on his map many ruined cities.

[163] In the Yüan shi the name *Wei-wu-rh* is applied to the Uigurs. For further particulars on this nation I beg the reader to refer to Part II.

spoke with him by means of an interpreter. It must be observed that the country from this place eastward belonged to China at the time of the T'ang dynasty. West of it there are neither Buddhists nor Taoists. The Hui-ho only worship the west.[164]

The next day we proceeded farther to the west, and went along (the northern slope of) the Yin shan as far as about ten stations. We crossed also a sandy desert, where the loose sand is collected by the wind into moving hillocks, resembling the waves of the sea.[165] No vegetation is visible there; the carts cut deeply into the sand, and the horses also sink. To cross this sandy desert took a whole day's journey. This is probably a part of the great desert (which Chen-hai) called the field of white bones. It is bounded to the south by the Yin shan mountains.[166]

After leaving the sandy desert, we travelled five days, and stopped on the northern side of the *Yin shan*. The next day, early in the morning, we proceeded southward on a long slope seventy or eighty *li*, and stopped in the evening to rest. The air was cold; we found no water. The next day we started again, and travelled south-west-ward, and at a distance of twenty *li* suddenly got sight of a splendid lake of about 200 *li* in circumference, enclosed on all sides by snow-topped peaks, which were reflected in the water. The master named it the *Lake of*

[164] By *Hui-ho* the Mohammedans are to be understood (see note 49), for, when praying, they always turn towards Mecca.

[165] These are probably the *Cyollos Kagon* or "sand-hills thrown up by the wind," noticed by Marignolli, in the fourteenth century, on his way from *Armalec* to *Cambalec* (Peking). See Yule's "Cathay," 339. Compare also "Arab Shah," i. cap. 45: "Arenarum cumuli, instar montium in regionibus Mogolorum."

[166] The road followed by Ch'ang ch'un along the northern slope of the T'ien shan to the Sairam lake is still a great highway, on which the commercial caravans from Kuldja to Urumtsi, Ku ch'eng, &c., pass. Dr. Regel, when returning from his expedition to Turfan *via* Urumtsi, went by this way. The sandy desert through which Ch'ang ch'un had to pass is marked on recent maps south and south-east of lake Ebinor. It seems that the ancient Mongol road passed by the valley of *Borotala* before reaching the Sairam lake. See note 16.

Heaven.[167] Following the shore, we descended in a southern direction, and on either side saw nothing but perpendicular cliffs and rugged peaks. The mountains were covered to their summits with dense forests, consisting of birches and pine trees more than a hundred feet high. The river winds through the gorge for about sixty or seventy *li*, with a rapid current, sometimes shooting down in cascades. The second prince,[168] who was with the emperor at the time he went to the west (in 1219), first made a way through these mountains, cut through the rocks, and built forty-eight bridges with the wood cut on the mountains. The bridges are so wide that two carts can pass side by side.[169]

We passed the night in the defile,[170] and left the next morning; then entered a broad valley which stretched from east to west, well watered, with abundant grass, and here and there some mulberry trees or jujubes.[171]

The next station from this was the city of *A-li-ma*,[172]

[167] The same lake is mentioned in Ye-lü Ch'u ts'ai's narrative. See note 17. This is without any doubt the *Sairam* lake in the mountains north of Kuldja. It appears also under its Kirghiz name, *Sukul*, in the narrative of King Haithon the Armenian (see note 476). Putimtsoff, a Russian traveller, was the first European who visited this lake, in 1811; he gives an exact description of it. See Klaproth's "Magasin Asiatique," i. But it was only after the Russian occupation of Kuldja in 1871 that the Sairam lake and the surrounding country were surveyed by Russian topographers. In the autumn of 1873 Mr. Schuyler paid a visit to this interesting mountain lake. He finds that Ch'ang ch'un gives an excellent description of it (Schuyler's "Turkestan," ii. 188). Dr. A. Regel was the first naturalist who, in July 1877, studied the flora of these regions.

[168] Chinghiz Khan's second son, *Chagatai.*

[169] Palladius remarks that Ye-lü Ch'u ts'ai (see the first narrative), in his poems, speaks of these bridges, and of the splendid mountain lake.

[170] The defile by which Ch'ang ch'un went down from the mountains surrounding the Sairam lake to the plain of the *Ili* river is now-a-days known by the name of the *Talki* pass; it leads over the *Borokhoro* range. Schuyler, *l. c.*, ii. 188: "The little river Talki (in the ravine of the same name) came bounding over the rocks in a succession of pretty cascades. High walls of rock. Superb vegetation in the ravine; wild apples, wild apricots, elms, poplars." The Chinese post-road from Peking to Kuldja passes by the Sairam lake, the Talki defile, and *Suidun*, a place situated north-west of Kuldja.

[171] The valley of the *Ili* river.

[172] The *Almalik* of the Persian mediæval authors. Compare note 19

which was reached on the 27th of the ninth month (October 14). The ruler of the realm of *P'u-su-man*[173] came out of the city, together with the Mongol *ta-lu-hua-chi*,[174] to meet the master. We stopped at a fruit orchard west (of the city). The people here call a fruit *a-li-ma;* and as the place is famed for its fruits, the city received the above name.[175] There is a kind of cloth called the *tu-lu-ma*.[176] The people say that it is woven from *vegetable wool*. We got seven pieces of it for winter clothes. This hair resembles the down (enclosing the seeds) of our willows. It is very clean, fine, and soft; and they use it for making thread, ropes, cloth, and wadding.[177] In cultivating the fields, the people use also artificial irrigation by means of aqueducts. For drawing water they use a jar, which they bear on their heads. When they saw our Chinese pail for drawing water, they were much delighted,

Some Orientalists have identified ancient Almalik with *A-li-ma-t'u* of modern Chinese maps, now-a-days *Verny*, north of lake Issikul. But there can be no doubt that ancient Almalik was situated in the valley of the Ili river, not far from the present Kuldja. Semenoff, in his Russian translation of Ritter's "Asia," ii. 96, note, states that Almalik stood in the valley of the Ili river, about forty versts north-west of Kuldja. The late Professor Zakharoff (he died last year), who was Russian Consul at Kuldja when Mr. S. visited this place, told me that he communicated the above supposition to Mr. S.; for he knew from hearsay that at a distance of seven versts from Suidun there were vast ruins of an ancient city.

[173] This is probably the same as Carpini's *Bisermini*, a mutilation of the word *Mussulman*. See d'Avezac's learned notice regarding this appellation used by the Slaves (Carpini, 749, 750). In the ancient Russian annals the *Bussurman* are often mentioned, the Mussulmans being always meant.

[174] A Mongol word, *darugachi*, is rendered by these Chinese characters. According to Rashid-eddin, the Mongol governors were called *daruga*, which name is also found on ancient Persian coins of the Mongol period (d'Ohsson, iii. 410).

[175] *Alma* means "apple" in all the languages of Turkish origin. See also note 20. According to Dr. Regel, *Suidun*, near which place probably Almalik was situated (see note 172), is still famed for its apples and pears. See note 18.

[176] *Tolma* is still the name of a stuff in Eastern Turkestan. See Captain Trotter's report on his journey to Khotan, 1874, p. 155.

[177] Here probably *cotton* is spoken of, which at that time was little known in China. See also note 69.

and said: "You *T'ao-hua-shi* are very able men." They call the Chinese *T'ao-hua-shi.*[178]

Journeying farther westward, we arrived in four days at the *T'a-la-su mo-lien.*[179] The river, which is deep and broad, comes from the east, and cutting across the Yin shan mountains, runs in a north-western direction. To the south of the river, again, are snow-covered mountains. On the 1st of the tenth month (October 17) we crossed the river in a boat, and proceeding southward, arrived at a great mountain, on the northern side of which was a small town.[180] Thence we travelled five days to the west. As the master travelled by imperial order, and as we now approached the encampment of Chinghiz, Chung lu went

[178] Palladius supposes that this is designed to render the word *tamgaj*, applied in ancient times by the Mohammedans to China. See Colonel Yule's learned investigations regarding this term. "Cathay," lii.; d'Ohsson, i. 203.

[179] The river *Talas;* for *mo-lien* is intended for *muren* = river in Mongol. There is some confusion in the narrative. It is quite impossible that the travellers could make the distance from Almalik to the river Talas (see note 23), nearly 600 English miles, in four days. Mr. Lerch thinks that by the T'a-la-su mo-lien, not the Talas, but the Chu river is meant. Mr. Schuyler ("Turkestan," i. 397) is of opinion that the diarist meant the Ili river, but by a slip of the pen called it Talas. It seems to me more simple to suppose that the traveller, in arranging the notes written down during the journey, inadvertently transposed some portion of the itinerary. This is evident from the fact that he notices the country of the Karakhitai (see farther on in the text) after the river Talas, whilst Ye-lü Ch'u ts'ai (see note 22) as well as Chang te (see the next itinerary) mention the Karakhitai before they arrived at the river (or city) Talas. Moreover, Rubruk, who proceeded through Central Asia from west to east, in accordance with the two Chinese travellers last spoken of, first notices the city of Talas, and then reached the country where formerly the Karakhitai dwelt. It is known that the residence of the Khans of the Karakhitai was situated on the *Chu* river (east of the Talas), of which mention is made on Ch'ang ch'un's homeward journey. The distance given there between this river and Almalik is in accordance with the truth. Thus it is also easy to be understood why the diarist of Ch'ang ch'un's journey believes that the journey from the Talas river to Sairam, about 116 English miles, had taken a whole month, whilst he supposes that the distance from Almalik to the Talas, 600 miles, had been traversed in only four days.

[180] I am not prepared to say whether by this small town the city of Talas or Taras is to be understood. See also farther on, note 185.

in advance to announce to the emperor the arrival of the sage, while Chen-hai remained with the latter.

Travelling again westward during seven days, we crossed a mountain, and met a Chinese envoy, who was returning to China.[181] The envoy bowed before the tent of the master, who asked him: "When did you leave?" The envoy answered: "I saw Chinghiz for the last time on the 12th of the seventh month (1st of August). The emperor is pursuing the *Suan-tuan Han*[182] to *Yin-du* (India)."

Next day there was a great snowfall, and we reached a small town of the *Hui-ho* (Mohammedans). The snow was one foot deep, but was quickly melted by the sun.

On the 16th of the tenth month (November 1), 1221, we went in a south-western direction, crossed a river on a bridge of planks, and in the evening reached the foot of the *southern mountains*. Here were (formerly) the dominions of *Ta shi Lin-ya*, who was a descendant of the *Liao*.[183] As the armies of the *Kin* subdued the Liao, Ta shi Lin-ya with several thousand men withdrew to the north-west. After ten years' peregrination from one place to another, he finally reached this country.

Here the climate is quite different from that of the regions north of the *Yin shan* (T'ien shan). The country has many plains, and the people are employed in agriculture and breeding of silkworms. They make wine from grapes. The fruits there are about the same as in China. It does not rain there during the whole summer and autumn; hence the fields are irrigated artificially by canals led off from the rivers, and the corn is brought to

[181] Ch'ang ch'un met here the Kin envoy Wu-ku-sun. See note 45.

[182] *Sultan Khan.* Djelaleddin, the Sultan of Khovarezm, is meant, the *Alti-Soldanus* of Carpini (750).

[183] As has been shown in note 179, the account of the Karakhitai does not stand in its right place in the narrative. Regarding these Karakhitai or Western Liao, compare note 22. The river which Ch'ang ch'un crossed on a bridge of planks is probably the *Chu* river. Rubruk also (280) had to cross a great river in the country of the Karakhitai. See also note 540.

maturity. To the north-east are mountains; to the south-west low countries, which stretch out for ten thousand *li*.[184]

This kingdom (of the Karakhitai) existed about a hundred years. As the power of the *Nai man* was broken (see note 98), they fled (*i.e.*, *Guchluk*, the son of Tayank Khan, chief of this tribe) to the Ta shi Lin-ya, and after becoming powerful, overthrew that nation (the Karakhitai). Subsequently the *suan-tuan* (Sultan of Khovarezm) conquered the western part of their dominions. Then Chinghiz arrived; the *Nai man* (Guchluk) were totally destroyed, and the suan-tuan was also overthrown.

We were informed that the way still before us presented many difficulties. One of our carts was broken, and we were obliged to leave it behind.

On the 18th of the tenth month (November 3) we travelled westward along the mountains. After seven or eight days' journey, the mountains suddenly turned to the south. We saw a city built of red stones, and there were the traces of an ancient military encampment. To the west we saw great grave-mounds, which resembled the *tou sing* (the constellation of *Ursa major*). Passing over a stone bridge,[185] and travelling five days along the south-

[184] It seems that the above account of the country has also by a mistake been interpolated in the historical notices of the Karakhitai. It would better agree with the country farther west, near the Sir-daria.

[185] Schuyler believes that Ch'ang ch'un here crossed the *Talas* river, and that his city built of red stones was the city of *Talas*. He states, further, that the city mentioned by the Chinese traveller still exists there. But as Lerch in one of them found a stone with a Manchu inscription relative to a victory of the Chinese over the Dsungars in 1758, this identification has no value (Schuyler's "Turkestan," ii. 122). I am not prepared to decide whether Schuyler is right in conjecturing that the river *T'a-la-su* in Ch'ang ch'un's itinerary was not the Talas, but the Ili river, and that the river near the grave-mounds was the Talas. There is some confusion in the itinerary with respect to the succession of the geographical accounts given. There can, however, be no doubt that the Chinese traveller after leaving Almalik (near present Kuldja) crossed the Ili river; it seems not far from Kuldja (see note 251), then probably proceeded to the spot where the modern Verny stands. Following the Alatau mountains to the west, he crossed them probably at the Kastek pass, on the route of the old post-road. (The new post-road, from Verny to

western mountains, we arrived at the city of *Sai-lan.*[186] There is a small tower in Sai-lan. The ruler, a Mohammedan, came to meet us, and directed us to our lodging. During the first days of the eleventh month much rain fell.

The 4th of the eleventh month (November 20), 1221, was the new year of the country-people. They were walking in parties congratulating each other.[187]

On the same day *Chao Kiu ku* (one of Ch'ang ch'un's disciples) said to one of his companions: "At the time I resolved, in Süan te, to follow the master, I felt the omen of the long journey (*i.e.*, he had a presentiment that he was leaving never to return), and during my journey my heart has always been sad. But I followed the precepts of our master, who teaches that thoughts about dying and living ought not to perplex the mind of a man of the true doctrine (Taoist). His heart ought not to be excited by thoughts about joy and sorrow. Whatever, too, may happen in life is good. I feel that now the term of my returning (*i.e.*, of his death) is near. You, friends, serve

Tashkend, practicable for vehicles, here takes a roundabout way to the north, and unites again with the old road at Pishpek.) He crossed the Chu river very likely at the present Tokmak, and reached the foot of the Alexandrofsky range. Then travelling westward along the foot of this range, where now a post-road exists, he came to the Talas river, and crossed it near the present Aulie-ata.

[186] This is the city of *Sairam*, which still exists about thirteen English miles east of Chimkent. The post-road from Aulie-ata to Tashkend passes near Sairam. Lerch ("Archæological Journey to Turkestan," 35) states that Sairam is the ancient *Isfidjab* of Ibn Haukal and other Arabic geographers. Rashid-eddin mentions Sairam, together with Talas, among the places inhabited by Turks ("Berezin," i. 2).

[187] Lerch (*l. c.*, 35) comments upon this statement that the date given there does not correspond with the Mohammedan new year; for the first day of the Hegiral year, 618, was February 24, 1221. Lerch thinks, and Wylie is of the same opinion, that Ch'ang ch'un assisted at the festival of the "great Beiram," *i.e.*, the conclusion of the fast of Ramazan. This festival fell on the 18th of November 1221. But the narrative says they held the festival on the 4th of the eleventh Chinese month (November 20). Wylie explains this by the fact that the Mohammedans were accustomed to determine the first day of the month, not by astronomical calculation, but by the time when they first got sight of the new moon.

faithfully our father." After a short sickness of several days, he died on the 5th of the eleventh month.

Thence we proceeded south-westward, and arrived after three days at a city, the ruler of which, likewise a Mohammedan, met and regaled us. The next day we passed another city,[188] and after two days' travelling reached the river *Ho-ch'an mu-lien*.[189] We crossed it on a floating bridge, and stopped on its western bank. The guardian of the bridge presented to Chen-hai a fish with an enormous mouth and without scales.[190] The sources of this river are in the south-east, between two snowy mountains; its water is muddy and runs rapidly, the depth being several *chang*.[191] It flows to the north-west, it is unknown how many thousand *li*, being bounded on the south-west by a desert, without water or grass, extending more than 200 *li*;[192] for which reason we travelled there in the night. We went southward to high mountains covered with snow (in winter), and then to the west. These

[188] One of these cities must have been *Shash* or *Tashkand*.

[189] *Mu-lien* here is intended for "muren"=river in Mongol. Note 179. *Ho-ch'an* means the river of *Khodjand*, or the *Iaxartes* of the Greeks, the *Sihun* of the Arabian geographers of the Middle Ages, known also under the name of river of *Shash* (Tashkand). D'Herbelot in his "Bibliothèque Orientale" states that the Arabs call the Sihun commonly "nahar Khodjand," river of Khodjand. The same name is applied to the river by Sultan Baber ("Mémoires de Baber," trad. p. Pavet de Courteille, p. 1). The Iaxartes is repeatedly mentioned in the Yüan shi, and always termed *Ho-ch'an*, or designated by similar sounding characters. In the "History of the T'ang," in the article on the kingdom of *Shi* or *Che-chi* (Shash, Tashkand), it is stated that south-west of it is the river *Yao-sha* (evidently the Iaxartes). Now-a-days this river, as is known, is called *Syr-daria*, or river *Syr*. Ch'ang ch'un crossed it probably at *Chinaz*, where the post-road to Samarkand passes.

[190] Evidently a sheat-fish (*Silurus*). This genus is characterised by the want of scales. The mouth is very large. According to modern travellers sheat-fishes of large size are found in the Syr-daria.

[191] One chang=10 Chinese feet.

[192] This is a quite exact account of the Syr-aria and the country through which it flows. The desert spoken of in the narrative is marked on the Russian map between the river and Djizak. The post-road to Samarkand passes through it.

mountains are connected with the southern mountains of *Sie-mi-sz'-kan* (Samarkand).[193]

We then arrived at a city where we found grass and water, and farther on passed another city, the chief of which, a Mohammedan, came to meet us, and entertained us at a place south of the city with a dinner and wine. By his orders boys performed some plays, dancing with swords and climbing on poles. After this we passed two cities more, travelled half a day among mountains, and came out at a valley which stretched from south to north.[194] Here we passed the night under a splendid mulberry tree, which could cover with its shade a hundred men.

Farther on we reached another city, and saw on the road a well more than a hundred feet deep, where an old man, a Mohammedan, had a bullock which turned the draw-beam and raised water for thirsty people. The emperor Chinghiz, when passing here, had seen this man, and ordered that he should be exempted from taxes and duties.

On the 18th of the eleventh month (December 3), 1221, after crossing a great river, we arrived at the northern side of the great city of Sie-mi-sz'-kan.[195] We were met in the suburb by the *T'ai shi Yi-la kuo kung*,[196] the chief officers

[193] The traveller proceeding from Tashkend to Samarkand has to cross the mountain range bordering the Zarafshan basin to the north-east. He crosses it south-west of Djizak, in the defile known by the name of "Gate of Tamerlane."

[194] The travellers were now in the Zarâfshan valley, stretching from south-east to north-west.

[195] The river crossed was the *Zarafshan*. Now-a-days the road from Djizak to Samarkand crosses it at the foot of the Chupan ata hill, six miles north-east of *Samarkand*, which latter name the Chinese author renders by *Sie-mi-sz'-kan*, or, more correctly, he intends *Semiscant*, by which name the city was also known in the Middle Ages. Compare Yule's "Cathay," 192. A bishop of Semiscant is mentioned in the "Mirabilia" of Jordanus. We learn from Clavijo that Samarkand was also called *Cimesquinte*. In the Yüan shi Samarkand is termed *Sie-mi-sz'-kan*, and also *Sün-sz'-kan*. The latter spelling occurs also in the narrative of Ch'ang ch'un's travels. See also note 29.

[196] *T'ai shi*, a Chinese term, first councillor of the emperor, the highest charge in the empire. *Yi-la* is a family name of the Ki-tan. *Kuo kung*

of the Mongol army, the chiefs of the Mohammedans, &c. and having pitched a great number of tents, we rested there.

Chung lu (the adjutant), who had left the master, and hastened to inform the emperor, was found detained here by some hindrances on the road. He said to the master: "On our road, at a distance of about a thousand *li*, is a great river (the Amu river). I have been informed that the rebels have destroyed the floating bridge and the boats there. Besides this, we are now in the depth of winter. I think it would be better to wait and start in spring." The master agreed, and some time afterwards we entered the city (of Samarkand) by the north-eastern gate.

Samarkand is laid out on the borders of canals. As it never rains in summer and autumn, the people have conducted two rivers to the city,[197] and distributed the water

is an honorific title. Probably *Ye-lü Ch'u ts'ai*, who was a K'i-tan, is meant. See introduction to the first narrative (p. 9).

[197] It is sure that since the days of the great Timur the site of the capital of Transoxiana has not changed; but whether the city of Samarkand, destroyed in A.D. 1220 by Chinghiz Khan, stood on the same spot also, cannot be ascertained. There are vast ruins all around modern Samarkand, especially north and west of the city. The ruins in the north are known to the people by the name of *Afrosiab*, and are supposed to represent the Samarkand of early ages. Coins referring to a period previous to the Mongol occupation have occasionally been found there. As has been noticed above, the modern city of Samarkand lies about six miles south, or rather south-west, of the *Zarafshan* river, the *Sogd* river of the ancient Arabian and Persian geographers. At the *Chupan ata* hill, situated north-east of the city, and between it and the river, the latter divides, and from this spot runs westward in two channels, the *Ak-daria* and the *Kara-daria*, the first being the main river, the second, in the south, an artificial channel. Another watercourse passes about six miles south of Samarkand. This is the *Angar aryk*, called also *Dargam*, an artificial channel diverted from the Upper Zarafshan and joining the Kara-daria about sixteen miles west of Samarkand. Thus Samarkand lies in the middle of a large island formed by the Zarafshan and the aryks (channels) derived from it. The city itself is supplied with water by two rivulets which come from the south, and seem to be connected with the Dargam. These aryks, derived from the main river, and serving to irrigate the fields of the fertile Zarafshan valley, seem to be of very ancient date. Edrisi, ii. 197, 198, and Abulfeda, II. ii. 213, 219, describe in detail the system of irrigation in the valley of Sogd. Edrisi mentions the *Dargam* channel. As to the hill *Chupan ata*, which rises to an elevation of 480 feet above the level of Samarkand, Ibn Haukal (tenth century),

through all the streets, so that every house can make use of it. Before the dynasty of the *suan-tuan* (Sultan of Khovarezm) was overthrown, the city of Samarkand had a population of more than a hundred thousand families, but after the occupation only the fourth part remained behind. Most of the fields and gardens belong to the Mohammedans, but they are not allowed to dispose of them. They are obliged to manage their properties in conjunction with K'i-tan (*i.e.*, Karakhitai), Chinese, and men from *Ho si*.[198] Chinese workmen are living everywhere. In the middle of the city there is an elevated place, about a hundred feet high, on which the new palace of the Sultan was built.[199] Formerly the T'ai shi (see note 196) lived

quoted by Abulfeda, *l. c.*, 220, notices it under the name of *Kuhak* (little mountain) in the vicinity of Samarkand. Sultan Baber in his "Memoirs," i. 97, 98, terms the Zarafshan river *Kuhik*, and states that it passes north of Samarkand at a distance of two kuruh. Between it and the city, he says, is the *Kuhik* hill, from which the river derives its name. Baber notices also the *Dargham* channel passing south of Samarkand.

There are several modern accounts of Samarkand and the Zarafshan valley published before and after the Russian occupation. N. Khanykoff and A. Lehmann visited Samarkand in 1841. Khanykoff in his "Khanate of Bokhara" (in Russian) gives a map of Samarkand and environs. The same map was reproduced in 1865 in Petermann's "Geogr. Mitth.," tab. 8. Lehmann's account of his journey has been published, after his death, in vol. xvii., 1852, of Baer and Helmersen's "Beitr. z. Kenntn. d. Russ. Reichs." In the "Zeitschr. d. Gesellsh. f. Erdkunde," Berlin, 1871, is a very valuable article on the Zarafshan valley, accompanied by a detailed map, by Dr. W. Radloff of the Academy of St. Petersburg. A paper on the same subject by Prof. Fedchenko has been translated into English in the "Journal of Roy. Geog. Soc.," London, for 1870, with a map.

[198] *Ho si* means the country west of the Yellow River. This was a Chinese name for the Tangut empire, partly subdued by Chinghiz in 1218. See note 46.

[199] I am not prepared to say what hill and what river near it are meant. It does not seem that the *Chupan ata* (see note 197) is intended. I may observe that, according to Khanykoff, Vambery, and others, the citadel of Samarkand, adjoining the city, is built on a hill. It includes the celebrated reception-hall of Timur and a palace of the Emir of Bokhara. Further on in the Chinese narrative it is stated that the hill with the palace was situated north of the river (perhaps an error of the diarist) This palace, in which Ch'ang ch'un was lodged, is also alluded to in the poems of *Ye-lü Ch'u ts'ai* (Palladius).

here, but as this part of the city had become insecure owing to numerous robbers, he had withdrawn to the northern side of the river. The master with his disciples then occupied the palace, declaring that Taoists have no fear. The T'ai shi furnished everything for the master's subsistence, and from day to day his veneration for him increased. We saw there peacocks and great elephants,[200] which had come from *Yin-du* (India), a country situated several thousand *li* to the south-east.

The master remained for the winter in Samarkand, and the adjutant with several hundred soldiers proceeded to explore the road in advance. We had often visits of Chinese, who came to bow before the master. There was also an astronomer, whom the master asked about the eclipse, which had happened on the 1st of the fifth month (see note 120). The astronomer said: "At this place (Samarkand), between seven and nine o'clock in the morning it was at its greatest, when six-tenths of the sun were eclipsed." The master then remarked that he observed the same eclipse on the river *Lu kü*, and just at noon it was total; but that when he arrived in his journey to the south-west at the *Kin shan* (Altai mountains), the people told him that at that place the eclipse was at its greatest at ten o'clock in the morning, and seven-tenths of the sun were eclipsed. Thus the same eclipse was seen at different places in different aspects. *Kung Ying ta*,[201] in his commentary on the *Ch'un ts'iu* (Spring and Autumn Annals by Confucius), says: "When it happens that the moon stands opposite the sun, we have an eclipse; but it is only observable for those who are straight under the moon. As regards those who are distant from this spot, the aspect of the eclipse changes for them at every thousand *li*. If one take, for instance, a fan, and put it before a light,

[200] The Persian authors also mention the elephants of Samarkand (d'Ohsson, i. 240).

[201] Kung Ying ta, a descendant of Confucius, and a distinguished scholar, A.D. 574 648.

then a place will be seen entirely covered by the shadow; whereas on the sides, where there is gradually more light, one is by degrees farther removed from the overshadowed place."

At the end of the twelfth intercalary month (beginning of February), 1222, the adjutant returned from his exploration, and said to the master: "The second prince[202] has moved out with his army, and the bridges have been repaired. I had sent to his encampment to inform him that the master intended to present himself to the emperor. The prince said that the emperor was then staying south-east of the *Ta süe shan*,[203] but that the road by which the master would be obliged to pass was covered with deep snow to an extent of about a hundred *li*. Therefore the prince invited the master to come to his encampment, and wait there for the favourable time for starting. The prince offered also to give the master a convoy of Mongol soldiers." After Chung lu had finished his report, the master replied (declining the offer): "I have heard that the country south of the (Amu) river is completely destitute of vegetable aliments; and I use only rice, meal, and vegetables. Please express my excuse to the prince."

In the first month (February and March), 1222, the *ba-lan* (trees) began to flower. The *ba-lan* (fruit) resembles small peaches, the fruit being gathered and eaten in autumn. The taste is like that of the *hu t'ao* (walnut).[204]

On the 2d of the second month (March 15), the time of the equinox, the blossoms of the peach trees dropped. The astronomer *Pang Li Kung* and others invited the master to walk outside the city to the west. The adjutant and some officers accompanied us, and brought wine with them. The day was fine and the air delicious, the flowers and the trees were in their full freshness;

[202] *Chagatai*, the second son of Chinghiz. See note 168.

[203] "The great snowy mountain." Evidently the Hindukush is meant.

[204] *Ba-lan* is intended for *badam*, the Persian name for "almond." See note 26.

everywhere we saw lakes, orchards, terraces, towers, and tents. We lay down on the grass, and were all very happy together, talking about matters sublime.

The 15th of the second month (March 28) was a holiday (in honour of *Lao tsz'*, the founder of the *Tao* sect). The officers begged the master again to take a walk with them west of the city. There were gardens and groves succeeding one another uninterruptedly to an extent of more than a hundred *li*. Even Chinese gardens cannot be compared (with those of Samarkand);[205] but the gardens in that country are very quiet; no singing of birds is heard there.

At the beginning of the 3d month (middle of April) *A-li-sien*[206] arrived from the Emperor's encampment with the following decree: "Sainted man, thou hast arrived from the country where the sun rises; thou hast met with great difficulties in crossing mountains and plains; indeed, thou hast taken great pains. I am now about to return, but I wait impatiently for thine explanation to me of the doctrine of the *Tao*. Do not delay meeting me." The adjutant, *Chung lu*, received an imperial order: "Invite him to come. If you accomplish my wishes I shall reward you." The Emperor also gave an order to *Chen-hai:* "Accompany and protect the master on his way; then you will experience my benevolence." Besides this, the *wan hu* (commander of ten thousand), *Bo-lu-dji*,[207] received an order to escort the master through the *Iron gate*.

The master inquired of A-li-sien about the way, who

[205] All modern travellers who have visited Samarkand speak of the extensive gardens outside the walls, presenting many charming landscapes and picturesque sceneries.

[206] This is, it seems, the same A-li-sien who was sent by *Udjukin*, the brother of Chinghiz, to Peking, to invite the master on the part of the Prince, and who, on that occasion, accompanied the master on his journey to the west. See p. 44.

[207] This is probably the *Burgudji* or *Burdjic* mentioned by Rashid as one of the four heroes in Chinghiz' army, who commanded his lifeguards (d'Ohsson, i. 40; ii. 4, 457). These four heroes are also mentioned in the Yüan shi, chap. xcix., lifeguards, and have their separate biographers. *Bu-lu-dji's* biography is found in chap. cxix.

reported: "I left this place (Samarkand) on the 13th of the first month (February 23), and, after three days' travelling to the south-east, passed *T'ie men kuan* (the Iron gate; see note 211); five days later I crossed a great river (the Amu or Oxus). On the 1st of the second month (March 13) I passed over the high snowy mountain (Hindukush), where the snow was very deep. By pushing in my whip I could only penetrate one half of the bed, even on the trodden path the snow lay five feet deep. Thence proceeding to the south, I arrived at the encampment of the Emperor.[208] When I informed the Emperor of your arrival, he was much rejoiced. He ordered me to rest several days and then return."

The master then set out on the 15th of the third month (April 26), leaving behind three of his disciples. He took five or six with him. Chung lu and the others accompanied him. After four days' travelling we passed the city of *Kie-shi*.[209] There Bo-lu-dji,[210] who had previously received orders, escorted the master through the *T'ie men kuan*[211] with a hundred Mongol and Mohammedan

[208] Chinghiz was, at that time, south of the Hindukush, near Kabul.

[209] The city of *Kash*, south of Samarkand, the birthplace of Tamerlan, more commonly called *Shahr sabz* (green city). On modern Russian maps the city is simply called *Shahr*. Under its ancient name, *Kash*, it is mentioned by Ibn Haukal in the tenth century (Abulfeda, II. ii. 218). But much earlier the name appears in Chinese works. The history of the T'ang (section of foreign countries) mentions, in the seventh century, a little realm, *Shi* or *Kü-sha*, also *Kie-shuang-na*, situated 150 *li* east of *Na-she-bo* (Nakhsheb, now-a-days Karshi). Under the name of *Kie-shuang-na*, Kash is also spoken of in Hüan ts'ang's narrative of travel in the seventh century (Stan. Julien's "Mém. s. l. Contrées Occid.," i. 22, 23; ii. 283, 285).

[210] Bo-lu-dji was probably stationed here to guard the defile of the Iron gate.

[211] *T'ie men kuan* means Iron gate. The earliest notice of this defile, situated about 55 English miles south of Kash, we find again in Chinese works. The T'ie men kuan is mentioned in the T'ang shu, in connection with the realm of Kü-sha or Kash (see note 209). Hüan ts'ang gives the following account of it:—"From Kie-shuang-na (Kash), going south-west 200 *li*, the way leads through mountains with difficult passages. There are no people or villages, and little water or vegetation. Then going 300 *li* south-east the Iron gates are reached. It is a narrow defile

soldiers. We crossed the mountains in a south-eastern direction, and found them very high. Masses of rocks were lying scattered about. The escort themselves pulled

formed by two parallel mountains, which rise on each side perpendicularly and have the colour of iron. There are in the defile folding gates strengthened with iron and furnished with many iron bells hung up. Because of these circumstances and of the strength and difficulty of this pass, it has received the name of Iron gate. Here, at the Iron gate, is the northern boundary of the kingdom of *T'u-huo-lo* (Tokharestan)." According to the Yüan shi (annals *sub anno* 1224), Chinghiz advanced as far as Eastern *Yin-du* (Hindostan), and met at *T'ie men kuan*, the *küe tuan* (upright horn), a strange animal which advised the conqueror to go back and cease his conquests.

The earliest Mohammedan author who mentions the Iron gate, and under its Persian name, *dar-i-ahan* (Iron gate), is the Arab geographer *Yakubi* (end of the ninth century). According to him, it is the name of a town. *Ibn Haukal* (tenth century) gives an itinerary from Nassaf (the same as Nakhshab or Karshi) to Termed, in which the Iron gate appears. Edrisi (twelfth century) locates at the Iron gate a small well-peopled town.

The Iron gate is repeatedly mentioned in the Persian works on the history of Timur. Sherif-eddin gives ("Petis de la Croix," iii. 173), the itinerary of the route followed by Timur when he returned with his army from the Indian campaign in spring 1398. After having crossed the Amu river, he remained two days in Termed, and then set out for Kash. The first day he halted for the night at the Kishlak (winter residence) of Jehan Shah; on the second, at the bath of Turki; on the third day he passed through the *Koluga*, or Iron gate, and halted for the night on the river Barik. On the fourth day he arrived at Jigdalik; on the fifth, at Kuzimondak; on the sixth, at Duz Bildjen, where Timur was met by his son, Shah Rukh. On the seventh he halted at a brook, and on the eighth day entered Kash. Sultan Baber in his Memoirs terms the Iron gate also *Koluga* (i. 56, 269).

It was not till the beginning of the fifteenth century that a European traveller saw the Iron gate. *Clavijo*, on his journey as the ambassador of Henry III. of Castile to the court of Timur in 1404, crossed the Oxus at *Termed*. He left this place on the 22d of August, and slept in the plain. On the 23d they travelled over extensive plains, amongst many well-peopled villages. On the 24th they dined in a great building, where Timur on this route used to halt, but continued their march and slept on a plain near the banks of a river. On the 25th they dined at the foot of a very lofty mountain, where there was a handsome house, ornamented with very fine brickwork, &c. Over these mountains led a pass called the *Iron gate*. The ravine through which it goes looks as if it had been artificially cut, and the mountains rise to a great height on either side, and the pass is smooth and very deep. In the centre of the pass there is a village, and the mountain rises to a great height behind. In all the mountain range there is no other pass besides the Iron gate, so that it

the carts, and took two days to pass the other side of the mountains. We proceeded along a river to the south, and our soldiers entered the mountains to the north to pursue the robbers. Five days after we crossed a small river in

guards the land of Samarkand in the direction of India. This gate produces a large revenue to the Lord Timur Beg, for all merchants who come from India pass this way. These mountains of the Iron gate are without woods. They say that in former times there were great gates covered with iron placed across the pass, so that no one could pass without an order. The same day they went on, and passed the night in the open on a hill. On the next day, after they had taken their siesta in the vicinity of a nomad camp by a stream, they again halted in the evening on a range of hills, and after a short repose started again at midnight, and so arrived at the great city of *Kash* on the 28th August ("Narrative of Clavijo's Embassy to Timur," translated by R. Markham, 1859. Hakluyt Society, pp. 119–123).

After Clavijo, for 471 years no European traveller had planted his steps on this road, when in 1875 a Russian scientific expedition visited the Iron gate. This expedition, headed by Major Mayeff, which had for its object the exploration of the mountainous country of *Hissar* and of the northern affluents of the Upper Oxus, first followed the road from Karshi to Baisun. After passing the broad Chakcha valley, they beheld in front of them the gorge so famous under the name of the Iron gate, known now to the natives as the *Buzgola khana* (goat-house). Not far from the northern entrance of the pass the road from Shahr Sabz (Kash) and that from Karshi join. P. Lerch wrote in the "Russische Revue" of 1875 a short report of the Hissar expedition, accompanied with very interesting notes, especially regarding the Iron gate. Colonel Yule presented an English translation of this article in the "Geographical Magazine" of 1875. Some of the above details have been borrowed from this paper.

In 1878 the Russian military mission to the Emir of Afghanistan, headed by General *Stoletoff*, passed through the Iron gate. Dr. *Yavorsky*, the physician of that mission, in his "Travels into Afghanistan and Bukhara," i. 72, gives some details regarding this pass. A much-detailed description of the same, drawn from the report of the Hissar expedition, is found in *Kostenko's* "Turkestan," ii. 122, 123. The precise site of it is given in the great Russian map of Turkestan. It is about one and a half English miles long, and stretches from north-west to south-east. It is, as it were, a rent across the mountain, which here forms a watershed. This picturesque defile, bordered on both sides by high rocks, is at the most thirty paces wide, in some places only five paces. The Chakcha river runs through it, and leaving the northern issue, turns northward. Beyond the southern issue of the pass is the streamlet Shurab, which discharges, it seems, farther south into the Shirabad daria. Here the roads divide. The principal road turns eastward to Derbend, about five English miles distant from the issue, and leads to Baisun and Hissar; whilst a difficult bridle-path branches off in a southern direction, and leads to Shirabad and to the Amu river.

a boat,[212] the banks of it being covered with a dense forest. Thence in seven days we reached a large river, and crossed it in a boat; its name was *A-mu mu-lien*.[213] Proceeding to the south-east, we stopped in the evening near an ancient aqueduct, the banks of which were covered with dense groves of *lu-wei*.[214] The large ones preserve their green leaves during the whole winter. We made sticks from them, and they were so strong that they did not break when we used them for supporting the shafts of the carts during the night.[215] On the smaller ones the leaves wither and are renewed in spring. More to the south, in the mountains, there is a large kind of *bamboo* with a pith, which the soldiers use for spears. We saw, also, lizards three feet in length and of a dark colour.[216] We were now at the 29th of the third month (May 10), and six days later, the 5th of the fourth month (May 16), we arrived at the encampment of the Emperor, who had sent one of his high officers to meet the master. After being installed in his lodging, the master presented himself

[212] The road from the Iron gate south to Shirabad and to the Amu river leads along the Shirabad daria river, through a mountainous country with difficult ascents and defiles. The small river which Ch'ang ch'un crossed in a boat was evidently the Shirabad, a northern affluent of the Amu.

[213] The *Amu* river or Oxus. As has been stated before, *muren* = river in Mongol.

[214] These two characters, in Chinese, denote reed. But I am inclined to suppose that the Chinese traveller saw the tall round stems of the *asafœtida* plant (*Scorodosma fœtidum*), and took them to be reeds. This plant is very common in Central Asia, and just in the regions Ch'ang ch'un passed through. The erect stem of this plant is five to seven feet high, nearly naked, with the umbels collected at the summit. Mayeff reports that the people in the valley of the Wakhsh (Upper Oxus) use the stems of this plant for making fences. See also Schuyler's "Turkestan," i. 228.

[215] The Chinese carts have only two wheels, and when not used, two sticks are placed perpendicularly beneath the ends of the shafts to prevent them touching the ground.

[216] Schuyler ("Turkestan," i. 323) notices enormous lizards (*Stellio Lehmanni*) in the steppes and gravelly plains near the Syr-daria, about four feet long and of a dark greyish-brown colour, greatly resembling a small crocodile.

to the Emperor, who greeted him, and said: "You were invited by the other courts (the *Kin* and the *Sung;* see note 79), but you refused. Now you have come to see me, having traversed a road of ten thousand *li.* I am much gratified." The master answered: "The wild man of the mountains (see note 99) came to see the emperor by order of your majesty; it was the will of Heaven." Chinghiz invited him to sit down, and ordered a meal to be set before him. After this he asked: "Sainted man, you have come from a great distance. Have you a medicine of immortality?" The master replied: "There are means for preserving life, but no medicines for immortality." Chinghiz lauded him for his sincerity and candour. By imperial order two tents were pitched for the master east of the emperor's tents. The emperor gave him the title of *shen sien* (the immortal).

At the beginning of the hot season the master went with the emperor to the snowy mountains, to pass the summer there.[217]

The 14th of the fourth month (May 25), 1222, was fixed for explaining the doctrine of the *Tao* (true doctrine) to the emperor; but just as the time arrived, news was

[217] According to Rashid-eddin, Chinghiz spent the summer of 1222 in the plain of *Beruan* or *Peruan*, where in the spring of 1221 a battle had been fought between the Mongols and the Sultan Djelal-eddin (d'Ohsson, i. 300, 301, 317). The Yüan shi (annals) states: "The emperor, in order to avoid the great heat of the summer, moved to the river (valley) of *Ba-lu-wan.*" *Parwan* is still the name of one of the elevated defiles in the Hindukush, between Kabul and the Anderab valley. There is also a river and a little town of that name, visited by Father Goes in 1603 on his way from Kabul to Badakhshan, &c. (Yule's "Cathay," 558, and map appended). Peruan is already mentioned by Ibn Khordadbeh (ninth century) among the cities depending on Bamian (Sprenger's "Postrouten des Orientes," 37). Sultan Baber in his "Memoirs" (i. 285) states that the pass of Parwan is very difficult, and that between this place and the great col there are seven minor defiles. He reports also (i. 280) that the wind blowing during the summer in Kabul is known under the name of "wind of Parwan." The Turkish admiral, Sidi Ali, on his way from Kabul to Badakhshan in 1556, passed by the *Parvan* pass and then reached the city of *Andera* (Anderab). See "Journal Asiatique," ix. 203. Compare also about *Parwan*, Wood's "Journey to the Oxus," 1838, and note 671 below.

received that the Mohammedan rebels in the mountains were about to renew hostilities. The emperor decided himself to attack the enemy. Therefore the day for the master's explanations was postponed until the 1st of the tenth month, which was a felicitous day. The master begged permission to return (to Samarkand), but the emperor said: "Will you not be too much fatigued to make the journey a second time?" The master replied: "It is only twenty days' journey;" but the Emperor objected: "There is nobody to escort you." The master answered: "There is a man, *Yang Akou*, who has received orders to go with me." The emperor then assented, and after three days he gave orders that Yang Akou should take a thousand horsemen and conduct the master back by another way (than that he had come).[218]

Proceeding on this way, we crossed a high mountain, in which is the *Shi men* (Stone gate), and at a distance the rocks had the appearance of candles. An immense slab lay across these rocks, like a bridge, and beneath was a rapid torrent. Many of the soldiers' donkeys were drowned in crossing this torrent, and on its borders many dead bodies were seen lying. This defile had been taken by the armies a short time before we passed.[219]

On our way we saw men returning from the war, who carried with them a great many corals. Some of our accompanying officers bought about fifty coral trees for

[218] *Chen-hai* remained with the emperor.

[219] Dr. Yavorsky ("Journey to Afghanistan," i. 72) was struck by the resemblance the description of the Stone gate in the Chinese narrative bears to the *Nandagan* pass, 3½ English miles north of Shirabad. But this identification is untenable. The diarist states expressly that Ch'ang ch'un did not return by the same way he came; and besides this, the sage, in one of his poems, alludes to the position of the Stone gate being south of the Amu river. It seems to me that the way now followed by Ch'ang ch'un from the Hindukush to Samarkand lay more to the west. He passed probably partly by the same route as Burnes in 1832 from India to Bokhara. This traveller, in describing his way down the north-western slope of the Hindukush, gives about the same details as noticed in the Chinese narrative with respect to the Stone gate.

two *yi* of silver,[220] the biggest of them more than a foot in length; but, journeying on horseback, it was impossible to carry them unbroken.

We travelled in the daytime, and profited also by the fresh nights. In five or six days (it is not said from what place) we arrived at *Sie-mi-sz'-kan*, or as the city is called by the *Ta shi* (Karakhitai), *Ho chung fu* (the city between the rivers).[221] The officers came to meet the master, and directed him to his former lodging (in the new palace; see note 119), which was situated on the northern side of the river. This river (the Zarafshan) has its sources in the snowy mountains (east of Samarkand), therefore its water is very cold. The palace in which the master lived was on a hill about a hundred feet in height.[222] It was reflected in the bright water of the river. In the fifth month (June and July), during the hot season, the master was accustomed to sit at the northern window and enjoy the breeze, while at night he slept on the terrace of the roof;[223] and in the sixth month (July–August), the hottest time of the year, he bathed in the basin. Thus the master spent his time in the far west.

The arable land in *Ho chung* (Samarkand) is suitable for all kinds of corn. Only the *k'iao mai* (buckwheat) and the *ta tou* (soya bean) are not found there. In the fourth month (May) wheat ripens; when gathered, the people pile it up in heaps. In the sixth month the inten-

[220] *Yi* = Chinese pound.

[221] This Chinese term is a literal translation of the Arabic *Bein naharein*. Thus, according to d'Herbelot's "Bibl. Orient.," Samarkand was called in ancient times, on account of its position between the Djihun (Oxus) and the Sihun (Iaxartes). But it may be also that the appellation *Ho chung fu* for Samarkand refers to the position of the city between the Zarafshan and the channels diverted from it. See note 197. Palladius reports that *Ye-lü Ch'u ts'ai*, in one of his poems, says that the *Si Liao* or Kharakhitai called Samarkand *Ho chung fu*.

[222] See note 199.

[223] In Persia it is the custom, up to this time, to sleep during the hot season on the flat roofs in the open air.

dant of the *t'ai shi*[224] made a present to the master of water-melons, which in this country are very fragrant and sweet, and of enormous size. We have no water-melons like these in China. When, in the sixth month, the second prince[225] returned, Chung lu requested the master to give him some of his water-melons for a present to the prince. The country is very rich in fruits and vegetables, but *yü* (colocasia) and chestnuts are wanting. The *k'ie*[226] there have the shape of enormous fingers, and are of a purplish colour.

Men and women braid their hair. The caps of the men at a distance resemble hills. They are adorned with embroidery and tassels. All officers wear such caps. The men of the lower classes wrap their heads about with a piece of white *mo-sz'*,[227] about six feet long. The women of the chieftains and the rich envelop their heads with a piece of gauze, from five to six feet long, and of a black or dark red colour. Sometimes flowers and plants or other figures are embroidered upon it. They wear their hair dishevelled. Sometimes they put wadding under it (under the covering of the head?). The women of the lower classes do not braid their hair into a queue on the top of the head. They cover their heads with linen and other stuff, and thus bear some resemblance to our (Buddhist) nuns. As to their dress, men as well as women are wont to put on a kind of shirt made of woollen stuff, of a white colour, which has the appearance of a bag, narrow in the upper part, wide beneath, with sleeves attached to it. If a

[224] *Ye-lü Ch'u ts'ai* (see note 196), who then, it seems, was governor of Samarkand.

[225] Chinghiz' second son, *Chagatai*.

[226] The egg-plant, aubergine, *Solanum melongena*. The fruits of this plant I have seen in Persia were of a more cylindrical form, whilst the Chinese varieties of the aubergine have generally globular fruits.

[227] Here evidently *muslin* is meant, which, as is known, is an Arabic word, derived from the name of the city of *Mossul*, where this fine, thin cotton fabric was first woven. See M. Polo, i. 62: "*Mosolins* of the city of Mausul."

man grows poor, his wife takes another husband. In the case of the husband going on a journey and not returning home within the space of three months, his wife is allowed to marry another husband. But there is one thing very odd among these people. Some of their women have beards and moustaches.[228]

The carts, boats, and implements of husbandry in that country are very different in appearance from those used in China. Their weapons are made of steel. Most of the vessels they use are made of copper, but there are also found vessels of porcelain, as in China. The vessels for wine are made only of glass. The money they use in commerce is of gold, but has no hole.[229] On both sides are Mohammedan letters.

The people are very strong and tall. They sometimes bear very heavy burdens on their backs without any cross-beam.[230] There are men well versed in books, and who are exclusively taken up with writing. They are called *Da-shi-ma*.[231] In winter they fast for a whole month,[232] during which every day, at night, the superior kills a sheep for the meal, when all sit round cross-legged, and eat the whole night till morning.[233] Besides this, they have six fastings in other months.

They have high buildings with rafters on the top, standing out about ten feet all around, and on these

[228] *Wu-ku-sun* states the same. See p. 31.

[229] The Chinese copper cash, strung on a string, have a square hole in the middle.

[230] The Chinese always bear burdens on a cross beam.

[231] *Danishmend* in Persian means "a learned man." The Chinese author probably understands by *da-shi-ma* the mollahs or the clergy. Palladius states that the same term, occurring several times in the Yüan shi, and spelled there *da-shi-man*, denotes always the mollahs of the Mohammedans.

[232] The Persians, indeed, fast every year during the whole month of Ramazan; but as their months are variable, Ramazan can occur in all seasons of the year.

[233] This statement is perfectly correct even for the present time. In Ramazan the Persians eat and smoke only after sunset, when the stars can be seen.

rafters an empty pavilion rises, hung with tassels.[234] Every morning and evening the superior goes up and bows to the west (see note 164). They call this *kao t'ien* (praying to heaven), for they believe not in Buddhism or Taoism. The superior above sings in a loud tone, and the men and women, hearing his voice, meet at this place and pray below. The same custom exists throughout the whole country. Whoever neglects to perform these ceremonies is executed. The superior is dressed like the others, only his head is wrapped with a piece of white *mo-sz'* (muslin).

In the seventh month, as the new moon had just appeared (August 8, 1222), the master sent *A-li-sien* with a report to the emperor, asking about the time for the explanation of the doctrine of Tao. The answer of the emperor, written on the same report, was received on the 7th of the eighth month (September 13).

On the 8th of the same month (September 14) we set out for the emperor's encampment. The *T'ai shi* accompanied the master twenty or thirty *li*, and returned. On the 12th (September 18) we passed the city of *Kie-shi* (Kash; see note 209). On the 13th we were joined by a convoy of 1000 men on foot and 300 on horseback, and entered the high mountains. The route we followed now went round the *T'ie men kuan* (Iron gate). We crossed a river with red water, and proceeded through a defile to the south-east, where there were rocks several *li* in height. At the foot of the mountains is a salt spring, the water of which deposits white salt after evaporation. We took a large quantity of it with us. Farther to the south-east we ascended a mountain which forms a watershed. To the west we saw a high valley, which seemed to be filled up with ice, but it was salt. On the top of the mountain there was a red-coloured salt, with the appearance of

[234] The buildings the author describes are *minarets*, with their prominent gallery on the top, from which the *moëzzin* every day before sunrise and after sunset invites the believers to prayers. The *moëzzins*, or callers to prayers (literally, "the announcers"), announce the time of prayer in a singing tone.

stone, which the master tasted himself.[235] In the eastern countries (China, Mongolia) salt is only found in low grounds, but here it is also met with in the mountains. The Mohammedans eat cakes with salt. When thirsty they drink water, even in winter.[236] Poor men sell water in jars.[237]

On the 14th of the eighth month (September 20) we arrived at the south-western foot of the Iron gate. Here the issue of the defile is bordered by terrible rocks. One on the left has fallen down, and the river to an extent of a *li* was covered by rocks.[238]

On the 15th (September 21) we arrived at the river (the *Amu* river again).[239] It resembles the Yellow River in China, and runs in a north-western direction. Having crossed it in a boat, we stopped on the southern bank. To the west there is a mountain fortress called *T'uan ba-*

[235] Schuyler ("Turkestan," ii. 79) states that near *Karshi* are the mines of that peculiar, excellent, rose-coloured rock-salt which is largely sold throughout the whole of Central Asia, and that this salt is obtained in the mountains about ten miles south of Karshi. Mayeff (Hissar expedition) and Kostenko ("Turkestan," iii. 161, 162) report that the mines of the rose-coloured rock-salt are situated in the *Bashkhurd* mountains, in the district of *Hussar*. See also M. Polo, i. 160: "Salt mountains south of Telekan."

[236] The Chinese do not like water; they prefer drinking tea even in the hot season.

[237] It is still the custom in Persia that water and ice are sold on the roads to thirsty travellers.

[238] Burnes notices similar phenomena in the Hindukush, and attributes them to earthquakes.

[239] It is difficult to trace Ch'ang ch'un's route from Kash to the Amu river on his second journey. The narrative states expressly that they did not go by the shortest way, through the Iron gate, but turned round it. The assertion, then, that they arrived farther on at the south-western foot of this defile, is a mistake. The diarist may have taken the entrance of another pass to be the Iron gate. From the statement about the rock-salt in the mountains they passed through, we may conclude that their way lay through the *Hussar* district, and west of the Iron gate. There is a road, explored by Russian travellers, from *Kash* (Shahr) to *Hussar*, and then through a mountainous country with many difficult passes to *Kelef* on the Amu daria (Kostenko's "Turkestan," ii. 131). There is yet another road, still more westward, leading from Samarkand through Karshi to Kelef. The diarist is also mistaken, it seems, in stating that their journey from Kash to the Amu river took only three days. The distance is about 130 English miles.

la,[240] which is a strong position. On our road we met *Chen-kun*, the physician of the third prince (Ogotai). We proceeded up the stream (in a boat); but after thirty *li* the water was too shallow, when (we went on shore, and) travelling during the night, we passed *Ban-li*,[241] a very large city, the inhabitants of which had revolted not long ago, and fled. We heard the barking of the dogs in the city. At daybreak, after taking breakfast, we went to the east more than twenty *li* to a river running northward, which could be forded on horseback, and passed the night on the eastern bank of this river.

On the 22d of the eighth month (September 28) *Chen-hai*[242] came to meet the master, and accompanied him to the emperor's encampment.[243] On his arrival Chen-hai asked the master whether he wished to be introduced immediately to the emperor, or to rest first. The master begged to be presented. It must be said here that the professors of the Tao (true doctrine), when admitted to an audience, were never required to fall upon their knees or to bow their heads to the ground. On entering the imperial tent, they only made a bow and placed the hands together (a sign of esteem among Chinese monks).

[240] *Ba-la* stands for "balik," city. I have little doubt that by the city of *T'uan*, the fortress *Kerduan* is meant, which, according to Rashid, offered resistance to the Mongols for a whole month (d'Ohsson, i. 294). After its capture Chinghiz crossed, as the Persian historiographer reports, the Hindukush and besieged *Bamian*. A more precise indication of the position of Kerduan is not given. Ch'an ch'un did not pass by this place. The travellers only heard of it. *Ye-lü Ch'u ts'ai* in his narrative of travel mentions a city called *Chuan* situated west of *Ban* (Balkh). This seems to be the same as *T'uan*. The Chinese character *chuan* is easily miswritten for *t'uan*.

[241] *Ban-li* is the city of Balkh. *Ye-lü Ch'u ts'ai* (see note 37) has only the character *Ban* for Balkh. The Yüan shi, in reporting the capture of Balkh by the Mongols, writes the name *Ban-le-ho*. On the Chinese mediæval map the name is more correctly spelt *Ba-li-ho*. According to Rashid, Balkh was taken by Chinghiz in 1221. Most of the inhabitants were massacred (d'Ohsson, i. 272).

[242] See note 218.

[243] Chinghiz then had left the Hindukush, and was somewhere north of it, three days' journey from the Oxus, as appears from the narrative farther on.

The master was then presented to the emperor, who ordered *tung lo*[244] to be set before him; but the master firmly refused to drink it. The emperor asked him how he was supplied with victuals in the city where he lived (Samarkand); when the master expressed his satisfaction. Next day the emperor sent a man to invite the sage to dine every day with his majesty. The master replied: "I am a wild man of the mountains; I cultivate the true doctrine (Tao), and therefore I like seclusion." The emperor then permitted him to live as he liked.

On the 27th of the eighth month (October 3) the emperor set out on his return to the north (and the master accompanied him). The emperor on the road often sent wine made from grapes, water-melons, and other eatables to the master.

On the 1st of the ninth month (October 6), 1222, we crossed the river (Amu) on a floating bridge, and proceeded to the north.

On the 15th (October 20), at the suggestion of the mas-

[244] The Chinese characters *tung lo* denote, according to the dictionaries, preparations from mare's or cow's milk, as kumis, sour milk, &c. The *kumis*, a fermented liquor made by the Mongols and other nomades of Asia from mare's milk, was their habitual drink in the Middle Ages, and earlier, as now-a-days. M. Polo (i. 249) calls it *kemiz*. Rubruk (227, 228) gives a detailed description of the preparation of *cosmos*, as he terms this beverage. He notices also a special kind of it, called *cara cosmos* or black cosmos, prepared for the use of the rich (unknown now-a-days). In the Yüan shi, chap. cxxviii., biography of the Kipchak prince *T'u-t'u-ha*, it is stated that "black mare's milk" (evidently the cara cosmos of Rubruk), very pleasant to the taste, used to be sent from Kipchak to the Mongol court in China.

Rubruk (229, 234) describes another preparation, curd dried in the sun, &c., which he calls *griut*, *gruit*, or *grut*. The latter is, it seems, the right reading, for Potanin ("Mongolia," ii. 112), in describing the different preparations of milk, which form the principal food of the Mongols, states that *kurt* (Pallas writes *kurut*) in the Kirghiz language denotes a kind of cheese formed into hard cakes. The Mongols call the same *arul*.

Rubruk, 240: "Dederunt nobis bibere (Tartari) de lacto suo vacino, a quo contractum erat butirum, acetoso valde, quod ipsi vocant *airam*." Potanin, *l. c.*, ii. 3, informs us that the Kirghizes call sour milk *airan*; in Mongol, *arik*.

ter, Chinghiz ordered a tent to be prepared for the explanation of the Taoist doctrine. Chen-hai and Chung lu were present at the explanation. The *T'ai shi* (councillor) *A-hai* [245] translated the words of the master into Mongol for the emperor. The emperor was highly edified, and the discourse of the sage pleased his heart. On the 19th (October 24) the night was bright, and the emperor called the master again to continue his explanations, with which he was much satisfied. On the 23d the master was again invited. The emperor ordered his words to be written down in Chinese as well as in Mongol.

After this we followed the emperor in his march to the east (*i.e.*, back to Mongolia), and approaching the great city of *Sie-mi-sz'-kan* (Samarkand), encamped twenty *li* west of it. On the first of the 10th month (November 5) the master solicited permission to visit the place where he lived before (the palace on the hill near Samarkand), which the emperor granted. The imperial camp then was thirty *li* east of Samarkand. On the 6th the master appeared again before the emperor, together with the councillor A-hai (who was the interpreter). Chinghiz asked the master: "Shall the bystanders withdraw?" to which he replied that they might remain, and explained to the emperor as follows: "The wild man of the mountains these many years has devoted himself to the investigation of Tao, and likes to be in solitude. Around the tent of your majesty I hear the noise of your soldiers, and I cannot keep my mind quiet; therefore I solicit from your majesty the permission to travel henceforth alone, in advance or behind. This will be a great favour to the wild man of the mountains." The emperor assented.

At that time (November) rain first began to fall, and the grass became green again. In that country, in the middle of the eleventh month (December), rain and snow became more frequent and moistened the ground. The

[245] *A-hai* is mentioned in the Yüan shi, chap. cx., as T'ai shi or councillor.

master went to Samarkand and distributed the remainder of his provisions to the hungry people, who were very numerous.

On the 26th of the eleventh month (December 29), 1222, we set out on our journey. On the 23d of the 12th month (January 25, 1223) there was a snowfall, and such an intense cold that a great number of our bullocks and horses died on the road. Proceeding to the east, we crossed three days later (January 28) the *Ho-ch'an mu-lien* (Syr-daria; see note 189), and reached the encampment of the emperor (who was also on his homeward journey). We were told there that during the past night the bridge across the river had been broken down and carried away.

(Chinghiz again had discourses with the sage, but I omit them as being of no interest.)

On the 1st of the first month (Chinese new year, February 2, 1223) the master took leave. The commander-in-chief, the physician-in-ordinary, and the diviner-in-chief came to congratulate the master.

On the 11th (February 12) we proceeded again eastward. Sie-mi-sz'-kan was now behind us, at a distance of more than a thousand *li*. On the 21st (February 22) we went to the east of one station, and arrived at a broad valley (plain) well watered and rich in grass,[246] where we stayed for some time, in order to restore our tired horses and bullocks. *Sai-lan* (Sairam) is three days' journey from this place to the north-east.

On the 7th of the second month (March 9) the master was admitted to an audience and said to the emperor: "At the time the wild man of the mountains left the sea-shore (Shan tung), he gave his word to be back again in three years. It is indeed my ardent desire to see my native mountains again in this third year." The emperor replied: "I am myself returning to the east. Will not you go with

[246] They halted probably on the *Chirchik* river, an affluent of the Syr-daria, somewhere near Tashkend.

me?" Then the master said: "I have explained all your majesty wished to hear; I have nothing more to say. It would be better for me to go in advance." He solicited earnestly to be sent home; but the emperor refused his assent, saying: "Wait a little; in three or five days my sons will arrive; there are still some points in your doctrine not quite clear to my mind. Having understood all, I will not object to your going home."

On the 8th the emperor was hunting in the mountains to the east, and in shooting a boar he was thrown from his horse. The wounded boar stopped, and the emperor was in danger. (I omit Ch'ang ch'un's conversation with Chinghiz about the necessity of desisting from the pleasure of hunting at his advanced age.)[247]

On the 24th of the second month the master ventured again to solicit his being sent home; but the emperor said: "Wait a little. I must think over the presents to give you on your departure;" so he was again obliged to remain. But on the 7th of the third month (April 8) he renewed his request, when the emperor made him a present of bullocks and horses. The master refused, saying that post-horses would be sufficient for him; and the emperor granted a decree, with the imperial seal, which released all professors of the doctrine of Tao from taxes. He ordered *A-li-sien* to accompany the master on his journey to the east, appointing him *süan ch'ai* (imperial envoy). *Meng-gu-dai* and *Go-la-ba-hai* were appointed his assistants.

On the 10th of the third month (April 11), 1223, the master finally took leave of the emperor, and we started; all the officers, from the *ta-la-han*[248] down to the lower ranks, accompanied the master more than twenty *li*, carrying with them wine and rare fruits, and all were moved to tears.

[247] Chinghiz was at that time sixty-two years old.

[248] *Tarkhan* was a Mongol title granted to deserving men. See d'Ohsson, i. 44. In the Yüan shi the word *ta-la-han* occurs frequently.

In three days we arrived at *Sai-lan* (Sairam; see note 186). In the mountains south of the city there are two-headed snakes, two feet long, which are frequently seen by the natives.[249]

On the 15th (April 16) the disciples of the master went out of the city to sacrifice at the tomb of the disciple who died there (on the journey hither). We spoke about carrying with us his mortal remains, but the master said: "The body, formed temporally of the four elements, decays without any value; but the soul has a real existence, is free, and cannot be grasped." Then we spoke no more about that, and the next day we started again (April 17).

On the 23d of the third month (April 24) we were joined by the imperial envoy *A-gou* (who had received orders) to accompany the master on his journey along the southern bank of the *Ch'ui mu-lien*.[250] Ten days later we were at a distance of more than a hundred *li* west of *A li ma* (Almalik; see note 172), and crossed a large river.[251] On the 5th of the fourth month (May 5), having arrived at a garden east of the city of *A li ma, Chang kung*, the

[249] Levshin in his work on the Kirghiz-Kaisaks (i. 143), enumerating the snakes of those regions, concludes with the statement that the superstitious fancy of the people adds to this list certain *two-headed snakes*. It is well known that the steppes of Russian Turkestan, and especially those bordering on the Syr-daria, swarm with serpents. Compare Schuyler's "Turkestan," i. 231, about the serpent-defile between Jisak and Samarkand. One of the serpents, the *Eryx jaculus*, which has been called also *Boa tatarica*, is characterised by a short obtuse tail and a small head. This resemblance of the tail to the head may have been the basis of the popular conception regarding two-headed snakes.

[250] *Mu-lien = muren*, river in Mongol. The *Ch'ui* river of the Chinese author is evidently the *Chu* of modern maps of Turkestan. This river rises in the T'ien shan, south-west of the Issikul lake, passes near this lake, at a distance of only four miles from its western corner; farther on, in the plain, it flows in a north-western direction, and finally discharges into the lake Sauman kul. As has been noticed in note 185, the old road from Pishpek to Vernoye, which crosses the Chu river at Tokmak, and by which probably Ch'ang ch'un proceeded, has been abandoned since these tracts belonged to Russia. The new post-road crosses the river about forty English miles downward.

[251] This can only be the *Ili* river.

architect-in-chief of the second prince,[252] requested the master to cross the river for the purpose of inaugurating some temples on the other side; but this excursion was not brought about. (I omit the details.)

In the evening (of the day they started from A li ma) we arrived at the foot of the *Yin shan*, spent the night there, and the next day passed again the forty-eight bridges, and proceeded fifty *li* up the torrent to the *Heavenly lake*.[253]

Thence we went in a north-eastern direction, crossed the *Yin shan* (*i.e.*, a branch of it), and after two days' journey, came to the same post-road which we had followed on our journey hither, and which leads south of the *Kin shan* (Altai) to a great river.[254] Then proceeding from south to north, we passed to the eastern side of the Kin shan.[255]

On the 28th of the fourth month (May 28) there was a great snowfall, and the next day all the mountains around were white. We then went in a north-eastern direction along mountains, and in three days reached the front side of the *A-bu-han* mountain (see note 146). The disciples (left by Ch'ang ch'un here in a new-built monastery) and the others came a long distance to meet the master, and directed him to the monastery *Si hia kuan*. Just as the master got out of his cart it began to rain, when all were very glad and congratulated each other, saying: "In this country it very seldom rains in summer; rain and thunder rarely happen except in the mountains to the south and

[252] Chinghiz' second son, *Chagatai*. The Persian historians state that the dominions of Chagatai stretched from the country of the Uigurs and Kayalik west as far as the Djihun (Amu-daria), and that he liked to pass the summer at *Almalik*, near the high mountains *Guk* and *Kut*. In winter he used to live at a place called *Meruzik ila* (d'Ohsson, ii. 2, 107). These statements relate to a time posterior to Chinghiz; but Chagatai had his appanages near Almalik already in his father's lifetime.

[253] The *Sairam* lake; see note 167. By *Yin shan* the diarist always understands the T'ien shan mountains. The Borokhoro range, which the travellers had to cross near the lake, indeed is a branch of the T'ien shan.

[254] This was probably the *Bulgun* river. See note 151.

[255] They crossed the Altai probably in the *Ulandaban* defile. See note 148.

to the north; but this summer rain is abundant. For the present fall we are indebted to the sanctity of the master."

The people of this country in ordinary years irrigate their fields and gardens by means of aqueducts.[256] In the eighth month (September) wheat ripens, and there is then no rain. At the time the corn ripens it is damaged by mice (or rats); these mice are all white. In this country cold predominates, and the fruits ripen late in the year. In the fifth month (June) we found on the borders of the river, at a depth of about one foot, ice in the ground about a foot thick; and the master sent his servants every day after dinner to bring some.[257] To the south a high mountain range is to be seen, covered with masses of snow, which never melts even in the hottest season of the year.[258]

There are many remarkable things in this country. A little to the west of this place, on the border of a lake, there is a "wind-hill," the top of which consists of white clay cracked in many places. In the second and third months (March, April) the wind rises here and howls in the rocks and cavities of the southern mountains. This is only the beginning; when the wind first comes out from

[256] Pevtsoff, on his journey from Kobdo to the Dsapkhan river, saw long aryks or aqueducts ("Mongolia," 28). The same author (*Ibid.*, 21, 30, 80) states that in North-Western Mongolia agriculture is carried on in many places, even by the Mongols (Durbots, Torguts). See also Potanin's "Mongolia," i. 81.

[257] Although it is impossible to determine the place where Ch'ang ch'un, on his homeward journey, stopped for the second time, and where, since his first visit there, in remembrance of it, a monastery had been built, there can be no doubt that this oasis, fit for agricultural purposes, must be looked for in the elevated desert which extends between the Altai and the Khangai range. The Dsapkhan is the only river of note on this plateau. It discharges into the Kirghiz nor, and is connected with two other great lakes. Its borders in some places are rich in pastures. Matussowsky in 1870, and Pevtsoff in 1878 and 1879, traversed this desert in several directions. Its elevation is from 3500 to 6000 feet. This explains the statement of our Chinese traveller that even in June they found ice in the ground. The Lamaitic monastery of *Narbandji*, on the Dsapkhan, was found by Pevtsoff (*l. c.*, 40, 275) to be at an elevation of 5160 feet.

[258] These "southern mountains," noticed also on the way hither, can only be a branch of the Eastern Altai.

the wind-hill, numerous whirls are seen like ram's horns; but after some time these whirls unite to form a hurricane, which raises sand, throws stones, lifts off roofs, and uproots trees.[259] In the river to the south-east there are three or four watermills; but when the water reaches the plain, it becomes scanty, and finally disappears. In the mountains are coals.[260] To the east there are two springs, which in winter-time increase like rivers or lakes; the water then is absorbed by the ground, but suddenly it appears again, carrying fish and shrimps along with it. Often the water overflows the houses, but in spring it gradually disappears.[261]

To the north-west of this country, at a distance of about a thousand *li* and more, there is a country called *Kien-Kien-chou*, where good iron is found, and where squirrels abound and wheat is cultivated.[262] A great number of

[259] Compare Pl. Carpini, 609, on Mongolian storms: "Ibi etiam sunt frigidissimorum ventorum tam maximæ tempestates, quod cum labore aliquando vix possunt homines equitare, unde cum essemus apud *ordam*, jacebamus in terra præ magnitudine venti prostrati, et propter pulveris multitudinem videre minime poteramus." Elias ("Journey to Western Mongolia," 131) speaks of the Mongolian gales. Compare on the same subject Potanin (*l. c.*, 63, 100, 151), who describes well the whirlwinds so frequently met in Mongolia. Przewalsky, in his "Tibet," 32, explains the causes of the furious gales in Mongolia in winter. Morgan, in his translation of Przewalsky's "Journey to the Lob nor," 199, reports that the Tartars and Kirghizes (in Dsungaria) have a legend that the hurricanes in their country issue from some caverns which the Kalmuks have in vain tried to fill up with stones; thus the same story as that related by the Chinese traveller. Comp. also note 316.

[260] Pevtsoff (*l. c.*, 21, 30) notices coal-mines in the mountains about 100 versts south-east of Kobdo.

[261] Pevtsoff (*l. c.*, 243) reports a similar phenomenon with respect to the rivers *Kungui* and *Mukhur-kungui*. The first discharges into the Airik lake, formed by the Dsapkhan, the other into the salt lake Khara nor. The sources of these rivers, which rise north-west of Uliassutai, at a distance of about ten English miles one from the other, are formed by springs issuing from the sand. Pevtsoff was told by the Mongols that their actual sources are in a mountain situated between them. But the water soon disappears in the earth, and after running for some distance underground, springs forth again from the sands.

[262] This is without doubt the country *Kemkemdjut*, mentioned by Rashid as contiguous to the dominions of the Kirghizes (d'Ohsson, i. 103). Kem-

Chinese live there, and carry on the business of manufacturing different kinds of silk and other stuffs.

From the monastery (of Si hia kuan) the *Kin shan* (Altai) is visible, where much hail falls (see note 130). In the fifth and sixth months there is more than ten feet of snow. On the northern slopes of the Kin shan there are pines about a hundred feet high.

The land is interspersed with deserts. In this country the *jou ts'ung jung*[263] grows. The natives (Mongols) call this plant *so-yen*. In their language water is called *wu-su*, and grass *ai-bu-su*.[264]

The assembled people said to the master: "This country

kemdjut was situated on the *Kem* river or Upper Yenissei. Even now-a-days the tribes living on the Yenissei call it *Kem*, which means a river. The main river is called *Ulu kem* (great river), one of the affluents *Kem-chik* (small river). At the embouchure of the latter there is still a place known as *Kemkemdjik*. Kemkemdjik is mentioned in the Yüan shi under the name of *K'ien chou*. In chap. lxiii. there is an article devoted to the *Ki-li-ki-sz'* (Kirghizes), in which it is said that K'ien chou, forming the south-eastern part of the dominions of the Kirghizes, derives its name from the river *K'ien*. This river is repeatedly mentioned in the Yüan shi. The name is sometimes also written *Kien*. By the same name (Kien was pronounced *Kim* in ancient times) the Upper Yenissei was already known to the Chinese in the seventh century. The T'ang history has a long article on the *Hia-kia-sz'* (or Kia-kia-sz'), the ancestors of the Kirghizes, and living in the same country, and there the Kien river is noticed. It is stated, among other things, that the country produces millet, barley, wheat, and that the people usually pay the taxes in sable and squirrel skins. Colonel Yule identifies the Kien-kien-chou of the Chinese and Kemkemdjut of Rashid with the region *Chingintalas* of M. Polo (i. 214, ii. 538). I may finally state that the forests on the Upper Yenissei still abound in sables and squirrels.

[263] Tatarinoff in his "Catal. Medicam. Sin." calls the drug with the above name *Orobanche præparata*. A drawing of it with description is given in Gauger's "Repertorium für Pharmacie, &c. in Russland," vii. (1848): Chines. Roharzneiwaaren. I have seen the plant in question. It is an enormous *Phelipea* (order Orobanchaceæ), about one foot long, the stem from two to three inches thick. This succulent plant is brought from Mongolia to Peking in a salted state. It gives out a disagreeable smell. The Chinese materia medica quotes an author of the Mongol period, who notices a Mongolian drug *so-yang* (evidently the same as *so-yen* in the narrative), and states that this is a kind of *jou ts'ung jung*, under which name an orobanche is described in the same work.

[264] In modern Mongol, water is *wusu*, and grass *ubusu*.

here is in a state of deep barbarism. From the most remote time the people have never heard of the true doctrine. We had only to do with the charms of mountain goblins and other bad spirits; but ever since the master founded a monastery here, there has been a service established. On the first and the fifteenth of every month the people have assembled and have taken a vow not to kill living creatures. Certainly that was an effect of the true doctrine (Tao); what else could have produced this change? At first the Taoists here had much to complain of the malice of bad men, and were not left quiet. There was the physician Lo sheng, who always tried to annoy the Taoists and to injure them. But once passing by the Taoist temple, he was thrown from his horse and broke his leg. Then he was moved to repentance, owned that he was punished for his sins, and begged pardon."

A-li-sien and the others said to the master: "The southern route[265] has much sand and is very stony; little grass and water are found there. Our travelling company is numerous; the horses will be extremely fatigued, and we have to fear many delays on the road." The master replied: "Then it would be better to start in three parties."

On the 7th of the fifth month (June 6), 1223, he sent six of his disciples in advance, and started himself with six disciples on the 14th (June 13). He was accompanied for twenty *li* by the most respectable people of the place; then they got down from their horses, bowed before the master and shed tears. The master spurred on his horse and departed quickly. On the 18th the remaining five disciples set out.

Proceeding eastward, on the 16th (June 15) the master

[265] Ch'ang ch'un, leaving the place where he now sojourned, returned to China by the direct way, crossing the great Mongolian desert in a south-eastern direction, which road led him to the present *Kukukhoto* (*Kui hua ch'eng*). He proceeded, most probably, for the greater part, by the same road as Elias in 1872 from the last-named place to Uliassutai, and as Pevtsoff in 1878 from Kobdo to Kukukhoto.

crossed a high mountain, which was covered with snow.[266] It was very cold. The post-horses were changed near the tent.

On the 17th the master did not eat anything; he only drank rice-water from time to time. Proceeding to the south-east, we crossed a great sandy plain, where we found grass and trees infested with mosquitos. We passed the night on the eastern bank of a river. Farther on the master travelled from time to time in his cart. The disciples asked him from what complaint he suffered; to which he replied: "My malady cannot be understood by physicians; it is a purification by the help of the sainted men and the sages. I cannot get well suddenly; but you need not be anxious." The disciples were afflicted, and did not understand his words. Then one of them had a dream, in which a spirit said to him: "Be not alarmed about the master's sickness. After his arrival in China he will get well again." We proceeded by a sandy road for more than 300 *li;* water and grass were very scarce. We travelled uninterruptedly; even at night our horses did not rest. Finally, after two days we emerged from the sand, and were then near the northern frontier of the *Hia* (Tangut empire; see note 46). Here huts and tents became more frequent, and we had less difficulty in getting horses. The disciples who travelled behind reached us here.

On the 21st of the sixth month (July 19), 1223, we stopped at *Yü yang kuan.*[267] The master still continued to abstain from food. Next day we passed the customs barrier and reached fifty *li* to the east of it, *Feng chou,*[268]

[266] Probably a branch of the Khangai.

[267] This is, according to Palladius, the Chinese name of a defile north of Kukukhoto, leading over the *Yin shan* mountains. The above name is not marked on the great Chinese map, but the defile in question is, it seems, the *Onghin daba* of Pevtsoff's map. See also Richthofen's map of China.

[268] According to the great geography of the Chinese empire, ancient *Feng chou* was situated near the present *Kukukhoto* (*Kui hua ch'eng*).

where the first officers of the place came to meet the master, who began again to eat as he was accustomed to do.

We were then at the end of the summer, and the master was in the habit of sitting at the northern window of the house in which he stayed. At the request of the master of the house he wrote some verses on silk paper.

On the 1st of the seventh month (July 29) we started again, and arrived after three days at *Hia shui.*[269] The next day we left, and on the 9th (August 6) arrived at *Yün chung,*[270] where the master spent more than twenty days. The military commandant of *Süan te*[271] sent an express to Yün chung with a letter to the master and an offer of cart and horses.

At the beginning of the eighth month (end of August) the master started, and proceeding eastward, we reached *Yang ho,* passed *Po teng, T'ien ch'eng, Huai an,* and crossed the river *Hun ho.*[272] The commandant met the master far out of the city (of *Süan te*), and lodged him at the monastery *Chao yüan kuan.* The Taoists received the master with great distinction, and told him that in the last winter some of them saw *Ch'ao kung* (the disciple who died at Sairam) entering the monastery and leading a horse by the bridle. All came to meet him, but he disappeared suddenly. He was also seen at other places.

The princes, dignitaries, commanders, and other officers

[269] Palladius states that the military place, *Hia shui li,* named after a lake (*li*) at the frontier between China and Mongolia, is often mentioned in Chinese history. Probably the *Taiha* lake.

[270] An ancient name for the city of *Ta t'ung fu* in Shansi. *Ye-lü Ch'u ts'ai* started from *Yün chung* when he began his journey to the west (p. 13).

[271] The present *Süan hua fu.*

[272] Ch'ang ch'un proceeded from Ta t'ung fu to Süan hua fu by the still existing commercial road. The city of Yang ho is now called *Yang kao hien.* Po teng is not found on modern maps. *T'ien ch'eng* and *Huai an* are now district cities. By Hun ho the diarist means the river *Yang ho* of modern Chinese maps. It passes Süan hun fu, and joins farther to the south-east the *San kan ho,* when the united river takes a south-eastern direction and passes about ten miles west of Peking. Now-a-days the name of *Hun ho* is applied to the river only after it has entered the plain.

in Northern China addressed letters to the master inviting him to visit them. These invitations succeeded each other like the spokes of a rolling wheel; but the master answered that he was sorry he could not divide himself into several bodies, to satisfy the wishes of all.

According to a vow taken at the time Ch'ang ch'un passed the battlefield of *Ye-hu ling* (see note 104), covered with white human bones, there was on the 15th (September 10) a service performed by Ch'ang ch'un's disciples in *Te hing*,[273] at the monastery of *Lung yang kuan*, to help the destitute souls to pass over. After the service, an officer from the emperor (Chinghiz) arrived to inquire about the master's journey, health, &c. Ch'ang ch'un spent the winter in Lung yang kuan.

The governor of *Yen king* (now Peking) and other officers from that city sent an express with a letter to the master, in order to invite him to stay in the monastery of *Ta t'ien chang kuan*, to which he assented. At *Nan kou*,[274] in the monastery of *Shen yu kuan*, the Taoists of Yen king met him. The next day venerable old men, men and women, assembled from all sides, and accompanied the master with fragrant flowers when he entered Yen king, and the people bowing before him obstructed the road.

At the time the master started for the west, the friends wished to know when he would return, to which he replied: "In three years—in three years;" and indeed his prophecy was realised, for it was on the 7th of the first month (January 28), 1224, he arrived at the monastery of Ch'ang t'ien kuan.[275]

Having brought back the venerable traveller from a

[273] At present the city of *Pao an chou*, south-east of Süan hua fu. Ch'ang ch'un in 1220 passed the summer there.

[274] *Nan kou* is still the name of a little town at the southern issue of the defile *Kü yung*, about thirty miles north-west of Peking. See note 100.

[275] Ch'ang ch'un had started three years before from the monastery of Lung yang, on the 8th of the first month, 1221.

long and painful journey to his native soil, I break off the narrative of his adventures. The Si yu ki continues Ch'ang ch'un's biography until his death; but the further events of his life are of little interest, and have nothing to do with my programme. I will only briefly state that the master remained at Peking. By order of Chinghiz, the ground of the gardens of the northern palace of the Kin was given to him for the purpose of establishing there a Taoist monastery. This monastery was built on the *K'iung hua* island, and the people were forbidden to gather fuel in the park of the island and to fish in the lake.[276] The master, who lived there, sometimes took a walk to the top of the hill on the island, and enjoyed the magnificent view he had of the surrounding gardens. Farther on in the narrative we read: "On the 23d of the sixth month (July 8), 1227, it was reported to the master that, owing to heavy rain, the southern embankment of the lake had fallen down, and that the water had gushed into the eastern lake, so that it was heard at a distance of several *li*. After this all fish and tortoises disappeared, and the lake became dry." Ch'ang ch'un took this for an omen of his death, and indeed he died on the 9th of the seventh month (July 23), 1227.

Next year his disciples, with the help of a great number of other Taoists, who had arrived from different parts of China, built for the mortal remains of the sage a monastery, the buildings of which were finished in forty days. The 9th of the seventh month (August 10), 1228, was fixed for the ceremony of transferring and burying the body. During the sixth month (July) heavy rain fell uninterruptedly.[277] The people were afraid that the ceremony

[276] The K'iung hua island and the lake still exist. They are now within the imperial city, but at the time of the Kin dynasty these pleasure grounds were situated north of the capital.

[277] It seems the climate of Peking has not changed since that time; for now in July and August the rainfall at Peking is generally so abundant, that all communication becomes interrupted, and a great part of the capital is inundated.

would be hindered; but on the 1st of the seventh month (August 2) the heavens suddenly cleared up, and all were much gratified. When the coffin was opened, the appearance of the master was the same as he had showed in his life. During three days people came from far and near, princes, officers, and others, more than ten thousand. All were astonished at this wonder and laid their hands on their foreheads. The funeral ceremonies continued three days.

On the 8th of the seventh month (August 9), at eight o'clock in the morning, at first black cranes flew past from the south-west, then followed white cranes.[278] The people looked at them with astonishment. On the 9th at midnight was the last funeral service, after which the mortal remains (literally, the exuviæ of the immortal part of man) of the master were buried in the monastery. This monastery received the name *Po yün kuan* (the Monastery of the White Clouds).[279]

[278] The Taoists consider cranes and storks as the birds of sainted and immortal men. On cranes the Taoists who have attained perfection are said to soar up to heaven. The Chinese white crane is the beautiful *Grus montignesia*. It is of large size and of a splendid white colour. Only the neck and some feathers of the wings are black. M. Polo (i. 286) speaks of five different cranes found in those tracts. One of them is all white, and is the biggest of all, &c.

[279] This Taoist monastery, *Po yün kuan*, exists still, west of Peking, one *li* west of the *Si pien men* gate. It is still, as Palladius states, the first Taoist monastery in China. In the principal temple, where the remains of Ch'ang ch'un repose, there is a statue representing the sage. In another temple we find his statue again, and those of six of his disciples. A third temple contains the statues of his eighteen companions of travel. On the 19th of the first month, the birthday of Ch'ang ch'un is celebrated every year in the Po yün kuan, and the people of Peking repair in great numbers to this place.

IV.

SI SHI KI:

RECORD OF AN EMBASSY TO THE REGIONS IN THE WEST.

PRELIMINARY NOTICES.

THE traveller whom we are now about to follow in his journey from Mongolia to Western Asia was an envoy dispatched by the Mongol emperor *Mangu Khan*, in the year 1259, to his brother *Hulagu*, who at that time had just succeeded in overthrowing the Calif of Bagdad. The name of this envoy, a Chinese, was *Ch'ang Te*. After his return, the report of his journey was taken down by a certain *Liu Yu*, who termed his pamphlet as above stated. This narrative was then incorporated in the *Yü t'ang kia hua*, published in the Mongol period (see Wylie's "Notes on Chinese Literature," p. 134). Other editions of the Si shi ki are to be found in the *Shu fu*, a work issued early in the Ming (Wylie, *l. c.*, p. 136); in the *Yüan shi lei pien*, an abridged history of the Mongol dynasty, published in 1693; in the *Hai kuo t'u chi*, a modern Chinese geographical work published 1844; and in several of the bulky *ts'ung shu* or collections of reprints.

The narrative, as it has been transmitted by Liu Yu, from a geographical point of view, is much inferior in value to the record of Ch'ang ch'un's travels, which, in this department of literature, I find, occupies a higher place than many reports of our European mediæval travellers. The style of the Si shi ki presents the inconveniences we often have to complain of in Chinese books

—vagueness in the ideas, often ambiguity in the expressions, and omission of the principal matters in the report, whilst some absurd details are minutely recorded. The indications of the geographical position of places are far from being precise, and the proper names are often corrupted. Besides this, many typographical blunders have crept into the different editions, which make it difficult for the reader to understand who has access only to one edition. But notwithstanding these blemishes, I am far from declaring the Si shi ki unserviceable for the elucidation of the ancient geography of Asia. We have not to look for accuracy in the ancient Chinese views of regions so far from China, and our science must accept thankfully all literary documents which come down to us from such a remote time.

I have compared the texts of four different editions of the Si shi ki in the above-mentioned works, and as the erroneously used characters and omissions are happily not the same in the different texts, I have been enabled to reconstruct the complete original of the article for my translation.

The Si shi ki has been twice translated into French by two well-known sinologues. Abel Rémusat translated it from the Yüan shi lei pien, chap. xlii., in his "Mélanges Asiatiques," 1825, i. 171 *seqq.* Pauthier translated the text found in the Hai kuo t'u chi, and published his translation in the Introduction to his "Marco Polo," 1865. But, as I have already stated, both texts are incomplete, and the French sinologues have misunderstood the greater part of the article. Therefore I venture to present a new and complete translation of this curious and ancient literary document.

The subject of the greater part of the Si shi ki is the expedition of Hulagu to Western Asia, and accounts of the countries which his armies successively passed through. Pauthier fell into an error in assuming that *Liu Yu*, who took down the report of the envoy *Ch'ang Te*, accompanied the expedition. He calls him "commissaire chinois de l'expédition." Liu Yu never was in Western Asia, and

even Ch'ang Te in his report speaks not as an eye-witness of the events he records regarding the conquests of Hulagu. The introduction to the text Pauthier translated states clearly that Ch'ang Te was sent to the west after Bagdad had been taken.

There is yet another Chinese account of Hulagu's expedition to Western Asia, preserved in the biography of the general *Kuo K'an*, Yüan shi, chap. cxlix. This distinguished general, who was a Chinaman (his father and grandfather had already signalised themselves as valiant warriors in the Mongol army), was with Hulagu in Persia, Bagdad, &c.; and in his biography the events of the expedition, and the different countries and places through which the Mongol armies passed, are mentioned in the same order as in the Si shi ki. But both reports seem to have been written independently, and there is also a difference in the spelling of the proper names. I shall compare them at the proper places, in order to corroborate Ch'ang Te's report. Pauthier seems to be right in suggesting that this *Kuo K'an* of the Chinese authors must be the general *Kuka Ilka* mentioned by Rashid-eddin as commanding, together with Bukatimur, the right flank of Hulagu's army (d'Ohsson, ii. 193).

Having thus furnished evidence that the narrative of the journey reported in the Si shi ki is not a diary of the march of Hulagu's army, as the French sinologues assumed, I proceed to show what is recorded in the Persian and Chinese annals about this prince, his expedition, and the route followed by his troops through Central Asia. The Chinese statements on this subject, as found in the Yüan shi, are very incomplete; but Rashid-eddin, the able Persian historiographer, furnishes detailed accounts of the conquest of Western Asia by the Mongols. I may be allowed to give here, before commencing the translation of the Si shi ki, an abstract of the chief points of Hulagu's campaign, as recorded by Rashid and other Mohammedan authors. This will enable the reader to form a judgment of the authenticity of the statements of the Chinese traveller.

Hulagu's Expedition to Western Asia, after the Mohammedan Authors.

(D'Ohsson, iii. 134 *seqq.*; Quatremère's "Histoire des Mongols.")

In 1219 Chinghiz Khan had turned his arms against Western Asia, and especially against the powerful realm of Khovarezm. Transoxiana and Eastern Persia had been conquered and devastated by Chinghiz and his three sons. The conqueror himself, pursuing the Sultan Djelal-eddin, had pushed on as far as the Indus, whilst one division of his army, commanded by the generals *Subutai* and *Chebe*, had penetrated to Western Persia and Georgia, crossed the Caucasus, and in 1223 made their first appearance in Russia. Chinghiz left Western Asia in 1224, and returned with his army to Mongolia. A Mongol governor was left to administer the devastated countries. The conqueror died in 1227. His son and successor, *Ogotai Khan* (1229–41), sent an army to Persia again, where, in the meanwhile, Djelal-eddin had succeeded to some extent in re-establishing his power. This army was commanded by the Mongol general *Charmogun*,[280] who dispersed the sultan's armies, and, after Djelal-eddin was slain, in 1231, continued to devastate the western part of Persia. In 1235 a vast Mongol army was directed, under the supreme command of *Batu*, the grandson of Chinghiz, to the countries north of the Caspian Sea. The Mongols devastated Russia, making it tributary, and carrying fire and slaughter westward, overran Poland, Moravia and Silesia, and ravished Hungary. But in 1241 Batu left the devastated countries, and withdrew his

[280] The name of this general appears in the T'ung kien kang mu, the great history of China. Under the year 1258 it is there recorded that before this time *Cha-ma no-yen* had subdued several realms in the *Si yü* (western countries). *Noyen* = commander of ten thousand in Mongol. The Yüan ch'ao pe shi calls him *Chormahan*. See note 381.

armies, which retreat was occasioned probably by Ogotai Khan's death.

In the eastern part of Persia it seems Khorassan was tranquilly governed by Mongol governors, who had their seat in the city of *Tus;* but in the western part, in the province of Adjerbeidjan and the adjacent countries, the Mongol armies continued during more than twenty years to commit all manner of atrocities. After Charmogun's death in 1241, *Baidju* took the command. The name of this Mongol lieutenant was well known at that time even in Europe. Pope Innocent sent a mission to him in 1246. But notwithstanding the increasing power of the Mongols in Asia, and the terror they spread everywhere, the success of their arms in Western Asia was not satisfactory. There was still the realm of the Calif of Bagdad, which had preserved its independence, and in the mountains of Elburs and in Kuhistan the Ismaelians or "Assassins" braved the Mongol arms in their impregnable fortresses and castles. Therefore among the first cares of *Mangu Khan* (1251–59), when he had ascended the throne of his grandfather Chinghiz, were the affairs in Western Asia. At the great kuriltai (assembly) on the accession of Mangu, an expedition on a large scale to Western Asia was decided upon, and *Hulagu*, the younger brother of Mangu,[281] was appointed commander-in-chief. To compose the army, all the princes of the imperial family were obliged to furnish two men out of every ten of their troops. A thousand engineers from China had to get themselves ready to serve the catapults, and to be able to cast inflammable substances (naphtha).

[281] According to Rashid, *Tului*, fourth son of Chinghiz (*T'o-lei* in the Yüan shi, chap. cxv., where his biography is found), had four sons by his principal wife, *Siurkukteni* (*So-lu-ho-t'ie-ni* in the Yüan shi, *Serectan* in Pl. Carpini, 667)—

1. *Mangu*, Great Khan, 1251–59 (*Meng-k'o* in the Yüan shi).
2. *Kubilai*, Great Khan, Emperor of China, 1260–95 (*Hu-bi-lie* in the Yüan shi).
3. *Hulagu*, Ilkhan of Persia, 1258–65 (*Hü-lie-wu* in the Yüan shi).
4. *Arikbuka* (*A-li-bu-k'o* in the Yüan shi, *Arabuccha* in Rubruk, 347).

See also note 743.

Order was given to reserve all pasture-land westward of the *Tungat* mountains,[282] between Karakorum and Bish-balik, for the cavalry. Besides this, the roads were repaired and bridges were constructed over the rivers that had to be crossed. Order was also given in Persia to prepare provisions for the troops.

The general *Kitibuka*[283] moved out with an advance guard of 12,000 men in 1252, end of July. Hulagu left *Karakorum*, the residence of his brother, on the 2d May 1253, and returned to his *ordo*,[284] in order to organise his army. On the 19th October of the same year, all being ready, he started for the west. In *Almalik* (see note 172) Hulagu was well entertained by the Princess *Organa*.[285] Farther on he was met by *Mass'ud*,[286] governor of Turkestan and Transoxiana. He spent the whole summer of

[282] The same name occurs a second time in the Mohammedan records. Rokn-eddin, the chief of the Ismaelians, sent after his seizure to Mangu Khan, is said to have been killed in the *Tungat* mountains on his way back from Karakorum (d'Ohsson, iii. 201). The name has some resemblance to *Tangnu*, which is the name of a mountain chain in North-Western Mongolia, stretching parallel with the *Khangai* range, and north and north-east of it. It would seem, however, that here by Tungat the Khangai itself is meant. See note 132.

[283] In the Yüan shi this name reads *K'ie-di-bu-hua* (see farther on).

[284] It is not known where Hulagu's ordo and his appanage were situated, but probably not far from Karakorum.

[285] *Organa* was the widow of *Kara Hulagu* (*Ha-la-hü-lie* in the Yüan shi), and the latter was the grandson of Chinghiz' second son, Chagatai. I have stated above (note 252) that Almalik was the capital of Chagatai's dominions. Organa reigned there 1252–60. Colonel Yule has rightly pointed out ("Cathay," 522) that the statement of Rubruk, according to which he passed through a region called *Organum* in 1254, is founded on a misapprehension. He confounded the name of the princess with the name of the country. A similar misconception is found in Huc's "Voyage dans la Tartarie," &c., p. 56. The traveller informs us of the existence of a kingdom in Mongolia called *Efe* (le royaume de *Efè*). Nobody would be able to find such a name on any map of Mongolia. But Huc himself gives unconsciously the key to identify this kingdom in stating that the king of it was the son-in-law of the emperor of China. "Efe," in Manchu, means the son-in-law of the emperor. The word is used also by the Chinese.

[286] In the Yüan shi, annals, *s. a.* 1251, his name is spelt *Ma-su-hu*, and his appointment as governor of these countries is noticed there.

1254 in *Turkestan*,[287] and did not arrive at *Samarkand* till September 1255. In a lovely meadow near this city a splendid tent was pitched for the prince, who passed forty days here in drinking and debauchery. In *Kesh* (Kash; see note 209) Hulagu was met by *Argun*, the governor-general of (Eastern) Persia.[288] He spent a month there, and issued proclamations addressed to all the sovereigns of Western Asia, summoning them to assist him in the extermination of the Mulahida.

The *Mulahida*[289] or *Ismaelians*, also known by the name of Assassins, given to them by the Crusaders, were a secret Mohammedan sect who had their principal seats in a number of strong castles in the Elburs mountains and in Kuhistan. The sect of the Mulahida was a branch of the *Shiyas*, or adherents of *Ali*, the son-in-law of Mohammed, who was the fourth Calif, and was overthrown by the Omayads. His sons *Hassan* and *Hussein* were also killed. The Shiyas consider the Califs of the Omayad dynasty as usurpers, and believe that the legal pontifical dignity lies with the *Imams*, or descendants of Ali. *Ismael*, the eldest son of the fifth Imam, was addicted to drinking, and was therefore deposed. His younger brother was made Imam. Then one part of the Shiyas, which recognised Ismael, revolted. This was the origin of the Ismaelian sect. Their principal seat was in Syria. At the end of the eleventh century, *Hassan Sabah*, one of their converts in Persia, made himself master of the mountain castle *Alamut*, near Kazvin, which belonged to the Seldjuk Sultan Melik shah. Subsequently he conquered also the adjacent mountainous district *Rudbar*, the castles of *Lem-*

[287] Haithon, king of Little Armenia, on his journey back from Karakorum, saw Hulagu at *Talas* in 1255.

[288] *Argun* is mentioned in the Yüan shi, annals, *s. a.* 1251. There it is said *A-rh-hun* was appointed governor at the river *A-mu*, and for other places.

[289] In the Yüan shi the Mulahida (the word in Arabic means, as d'Ohsson explains, "égarés") are termed *Mu-li-hi*, sometimes *Mo-lai*.

basser, *Meimundiz*, *Ghirdkuh*, and others.[290] He sent emissaries to *Kuhistan*, who found means to get possession of the mountain castles there. From their residence, the castle of Alamut, Hassan Sabah and his successors spread terror over the whole of Western Asia. Ismaelian emissaries penetrated everywhere, and assassinated the people. Even the sovereigns were not secure. Two Califs were assassinated by order of the chief of the Ismaelians. At the time Chinghiz arrived in Persia, *Djelal-eddin Hassan* was at the head of this sect, and sent an envoy to the conqueror. He died in 1221, when his son, *Ala-eddin Mohammed*, was only nine years old. The latter was assassinated in 1255, and was succeeded by his son *Rokn-eddin Kurshah*, who was chief of the Ismaelians at the time Hulagu's armies appeared in Persia.

Hulagu crossed the *Djihun* (Amu-daria) on the 2d of January 1256. The *Sultan* of *Rum* and the *Atabey* of *Fars* had sent envoys to congratulate the prince. Other lords of Western Asia had appeared in person. A lion-hunt was organised there, and ten lions were killed. Leaving the Oxus, Hulagu advanced to *Shuburgan* (fifty-three English miles west of Balkh), and spent the winter in the prairies of this district. In spring he proceeded to *Zaweh* (south of Nishapur), and gave orders to the generals *Kuka Ilka* and *Kitubuka* to achieve the conquest of the dominions of the Mulahida. Kitubuka had besieged the fortress of Ghirdkuh for two years, but it still held out. Hulagu then went to *Tus*, where he received *Shahin Shah*, the brother of the chief of the Ismaelians (June 1256), who came to offer his submission. From Tus he

[290] The castles of Alamut and Lembasser are marked on the Chinese mediæval map of 1330, and the names are spelt there *A-la-mu-de* and *Lan-ba sa-rh*. The name of *Ghirdkuh* appears in the Yüan shi as *Ghi-rh-du-kie* (see farther on). Ghirdkuh means "round mountain." D'Ohsson (ii. 189, 190) is wrong in believing that this mountain castle was situated in Kuhistan, the mountainous country west of Herat and south of Nishapur. *Ghirdkuh* or *Kerdeh-kuh* was in the district of Kumes, three parasangs west of *Dameghan*. See Quatremère's "Hist. d. Mongols," 278, note.

proceeded by *Kabushan*, in the province of *Nishapur*,[291] to *Bistham*, from which place he sent envoys to Rokn-eddin, summoning him to destroy his castles and to repair in person to the prince's encampment. Rokn-eddin begged the favour to retain two or three of his castles, and sent orders to the commandant of Ghirdkuh to surrender that fortress to the Mongols.

In the beginning of October Hulagu arrived at *Demavend*.[292] Rokn-eddin was again summoned to destroy his fortresses, but he tried to protract the negotiation in the hope that winter would intervene and stop the operations of the Mongols. Hulagu passed to *Rai*,[293] and ordered all his troops to enter the district of *Rudbar* from different parts at the same time, and laid immediate siege to the fortress of *Meimundiz*. Bukatimur and Kuka Ilka, with the right flank, came from Mazanderan. Negudar Ogul and Kitubuka, with the left flank, went by the route of *Khar* and *Semnan*.[294] The princes Bolgai and Tutar came from the side of Alamut. Hulagu himself directed the centre of the army from *Yeskele* on the *Talekan* road[295]

[291] Tus is marked in the Chinese mediæval map as *T'u-sz'*, and Nishapur is repeatedly mentioned in the Yüan shi. The name is generally written there *Ni-sha-bu-rh*.

[292] In the biography of the general *Ho-sz'-ma-li* (Ismael?), Yüan shi, chap. cxx., it is stated that (in Chinghiz' campaign in Persia) the troops of the *suan-tan* (Sultan of Khovarezm) were vanquished near the mount *T'u-ma-wen*. Demavend, or, as Abulfeda (II. ii. 169) writes, *Donbawend*, is the name of the highest mount in the Elburs chain. It rises to a height of nearly 20,000 feet, and is covered with perpetual snow. At the foot of this majestic mount, on the route from Teheran to Astrabad and Khorassan, is the city of the same name.

[293] The ruins of this celebrated city, mentioned in Holy Scripture and visited by Alexander the Great, are still to be seen, about five English miles south of Teheran.

[294] *Khar* or *Khuar* (Χοαρηνή of Isidor, Choara of Pliny) was a great city between Rai and *Simnan*, on the road to Khorassan. Both places are marked on the Chinese mediæval map as *Hu-wa-rh* and *Si-mu-niang*.

[295] This was the name of a district in the mountains east of Kazwin. See Barbier de Meynard's "Dictionnaire Géogr., &c., de Perse," 377, note 2. Compare also d'Ohsson, iv. 349. *Yeskele-rud*, near Kazvin, where Ghazan Khan died in 1304.

to Meimundiz. Catapults were placed on the various commanding heights, and the attack was prosecuted with vigour. Rokn-eddin, who was in Meimundiz, surrendered himself to the Mongols (19th November 1256), and gave orders for the surrender of all the fortified places in Rudbar, Kumes, and Kuhistan. Alamut and Lembasser, two of the strongest, alone refused to capitulate. Hulagu himself then led his troops to *Alamut* by the road leading through *Sheherek*, the ancient capital of the sovereigns of *Deilem*.[296] Alamut capitulated, December 20, 1256. Lembasser was taken in January 1257. More than fifty fortified places of the Ismaelians then surrendered, and were all demolished. Rokn-eddin was sent to Mangu Khan. He was badly received. Mangu refused him an audience, and ordered him to be taken back to Persia. Rokn-eddin on his way home was murdered in the Tungat mountains (see note 282). In Persia all the Ismaelians who had been taken prisoners were killed.

Having exterminated the Ismaelians, Hulagu spent some time in the neighbourhood of *Kazvin*,[297] and then started for *Hamadan*. An expedition was prepared now against *Mostassim*, the *Calif* of *Bagdad*, who had reigned there since 1242. On the 21st September 1257, the Mongol prince sent an envoy to Bagdad and summoned the Calif to raze to the ground the wall of the city and appear in person before the prince; to which the Calif gave a haughty reply. Hulagu having now decided to attack Bagdad, the Mongol general *Baidju*, who was stationed in *Rum*, received orders to move out, and with his troops to form the right flank. He crossed the *Tigris* at *Mossul*,[298] arrived near the western side of Bagdad, and there joined the corps of *Bukatimur*, *Sugundjac*, the princes *Bolga*, *Tutar*, *Kuli*, &c. This right flank of the

[296] Deilem is a name applied to a region situated in the Elburs mountains south of Ghilan. On the Chinese mediæval map the name is spelt *Di-lien*.

[297] *Ko-dsi-yün* on the Chinese mediæval map.

[298] *Mao-si-li* on the Chinese mediæval map.

Mongol army was directed towards the western side of the city. In the meanwhile *Kitubuka* and *Kudussun*, commanding the left flank, invaded *Luristan*.[299] Hulagu with the centre of the army left Hamadan. His march to Bagdad lay through the snowy mountains which separated the two Iraks. *Kermanshah*[300] was devastated. He reached on the 18th of December the river *Holwan* (an eastern affluent of the Diala river), where he halted for thirteen days. The generals *Kuka Ilka* and *Oroktu* were with him. The commander-in-chief of the Calif's army was *Soleiman Shah*. *Eibeg*, the Little Devatdar, or vice-chancellor, and the general *Feth-eddin Ibn Corer* had been sent to attack Hulagu on the road of Holwan. But when the right flank of the Mongol army approached Bagdad, this division of the Calif's army crossed the Tigris again and attacked the vanguard of the Mongols near *Anbar*. The Mongols retired to the *Dodjeil* (the canal which connects the Tigris and the Euphrates), where the bulk of the Mongol army was posted. The Devatdar imprudently advised to pursue the enemy. The Mongols opened the dikes during the night, and thus succeeded in flooding the country behind the Calif's army, of which the greater part perished. The generals Ibn Corer and Cora Sinkor were killed. The Devatdar escaped with some residue to Bagdad. A few days after, the right flank of the Mongol army reached the suburb of Bagdad on the western bank of the Tigris. Kitubuka, having devasted Luristan, approached also the Calif's capital. From the 18th of January 1258 Hulagu encamped on its eastern side, and the vast city was now invested. On the 30th the assault began from all sides, and a great breach was effected in a tower flanking one of the gates. On the 1st of February the whole tower was destroyed, and the Mongols captured by assault all the wall on the eastern side of the city. The vice-chancellor and a body of 10,000 men tried to

[299] *Lo-rh* on the Chinese mediæval map.

[300] *Ki-li-mang-sha-hang* on the Chinese mediæval map.

escape down the river, but the Mongols were expecting and repulsed them, and forced them to return to Bagdad. The Calif now, seeing that resistance was hopeless, sent several deputations offering terms. Hulagu demanded that Soleiman Shah and the vice-chancellor should be sent to him, and on their arrival he ordered them to return and bring out all their forces. Afterwards he ordered both to be executed. On the 10th of February the Calif himself entered Hulagu's encampment with his three sons and surrendered his capital, which was then plundered during seven days.[301]

On the 20th of February 1258, Hulagu left Bagdad, owing to the infection of the air by the great number of dead bodies. On the 21st the Calif and his eldest son were executed near a place called *Vakaf*. Hulagu remained there until the 8th of March. Kuka Ilka and Karabuka with 3000 men were left in Bagdad. Bukatimur (the brother-in-law of Hulagu) was detached with a Mongol force to take *Vassit*, *Kufa*,[302] and other cities. On the 17th of April Hulagu returned to *Hamadan*. The Noyen Oroktu captured after a long siege the city of *Erbil* (Arbela). Hulagu proceeded to the lake of *Ormia* (Urumia), where he ordered a castle to be built on the island of *Tala*, in the middle of the lake, for the purpose of depositing here the immense treasures captured at Bagdad. A great part of the booty, however, had been sent to Mangu Khan.

In the beginning of August 1258 we find Hulagu in *Meraga*, where he received the homage of the prince of Mossul. But he soon left this place for *Tebriz*, where he fixed his residence. At this time the princes of Fars and

[301] *Bagdad* is not marked on the Chinese mediæval map, but in the list of cities and countries accompanying the map the name of *Ba-gi-da* appears.

[302] *Kufa* is likewise omitted on the ancient Chinese map, but a place *K'u-fa* is noticed in the afore-mentioned list, together with *Wu-ki-ba-la* Okbara, an ancient city of Chaldæa) and *Wa-si-di*, which is the *Vassi* taken by Bukatimur.

two rival Seldjuk Sultans of Rum, and other little sovereigns of Western Asia, came to do homage. In the same year the general Kitubuka is reported to have reduced the country of *Lur* or *Luristan* and its Atabey Teghele.

I apologise for this long extract from the Persian historians about Hulagu's expedition to Western Asia. But I considered it necessary, before presenting the concise and often incoherent accounts given regarding the same matters by a Chinese author in the Si shi ki, to give a succinct but coherent statement of the facts. I did not mention details regarding the expedition undertaken by Hulagu in September 1259 to Syria, the assault of Aleppo in 1260, and the conflicts with the Sultans of Egypt; for these events do not seem to be alluded to in the Chinese report.

Let me finally quote, for the sake of completeness, a few passages from the Chinese annals referring to the expedition of Hulagu.

In the Yüan shi, annals, *s. a.* 1252, it is stated: "The emperor (Mangu) sent the general *K'ie-di-bu hua* (Kitubuka of the Persian authors) to attack the *Mu-li-hi* (Mulahida or Ismaelians) and to lay siege to the fortress *Mo-lai Ghi-rh-du-k'ie* (Ghirdkuh of the Mulahida). The prince *Hü-lie-wu* (Hulagu) received orders to subdue the countries of the west belonging to the dominions of the *su-dan* (Sultan)."

It is further stated that in the following year *Hü-lie-wu* was ordered to start, together with *Wu-liang-ho-dai*,[303] for

[303] *Wu-liang-ho-t'ai* was the son of the celebrated Mongol general *Su-bu-dai*, whose name was well known to his contemporaries; for *Subutai* devastated the countries around the Caucasus, and Russia, Hungary, &c. In the Russian annals he is repeatedly mentioned. His biography as well as that of his son are found in the Yüan shi, chap. cxxi. It is said there that Wu-liang-ho-t'ai took part in the expeditions to Russia, Poland, and Germany, and distinguished himself in the conquest of the Chinese province of Yün nan; but nothing is reported there about his having been with Hulagu in Western Asia. Probably the imperial order was recalled, and this general was then employed in Yün nan. Rashid states (d'Ohsson, ii. 314–318) that *Uriangcadai* (evidently the same as Wu-liang-ho-t'ai) waged war in *Karadjank* (which is the same as Yün nan).

the west, and subdue *Ha-li-fa Ba-ha-da* (Bagdad of the Calif) and other countries.

Under the year 1257, the Yüan shi mentions the taking of the fortress of *Ghi-rh-du-kie* by *K'ie-di-bu-hua*. In 1258 it is recorded that *Hü-lie-wu* subdued the empire of the *Ha-li-fa* in the *Si yü* (Western Asia), and dispatched a courier to the emperor to report the victories. Besides these, we find no more accounts in the Chinese annals regarding Hulagu's expedition. But many interesting statements regarding it appear in some of the biographies in the Yüan shi, as I shall show farther on.

Translation of the Si Shi Ki.

In the year 1252 *Hü-lie-wu* (Hulagu), the younger brother of the emperor (Mangu), had taken the supreme command of the troops, and received orders to attack the *Si yü* (Western Asia). In the space of six years he succeeded in extending the frontier of the empire by nearly ten thousand *li*.

On the 20th of the first month (February 13) of 1259, *Ch'ang Te* set out as a courier dispatched to the west (to the prince Hulagu). After leaving *Ho-lin*,[304] he travelled

[304] *Ho-lin* is the Chinese name for *Karakorum*, the celebrated residence of Chinghiz' first successors. The full name, as it appears in the Yüan shi, chap. lviii., is *Ha-la ho-lin*. It is said there that this name is derived from the name of a river west of the city. Rashid states (d'Ohsson, i. 430) that Karakorum was the name of a mountain, from which the city received the name. According to the Yüan shi, annals, Ogotai Khan, in 1235, in spring, ordered to raise the walls of *Ha-la ho-lin* and to build the palace *Wan an kung* within it. His successors Kuyuk and Mangu resided there; but Kubilai Khan transferred, in 1260, the residence to *Ta tu* or the present Peking. Pl. Carpini, in 1246, was the first Western mediæval traveller to mention Karakorum (*l. c.*, 608). He was near the city, but did not see it. Eight years later (in 1254) Rubruk visited this place, and left an account of Karakorum (*l. c.*, 345). M. Polo (i. 227) gives also a short description of the city from hearsay.

In 1825 A. Rémusat published, under the title "Recherches sur la Ville de Karakorum," an interesting paper on the ancient Mongol capital, and tried to determine its site from ancient Chinese itineraries. After Rubruck, for four centuries and a half no European traveller had passed through the country where the ruins of that celebrated city had to be looked

through the country of *Wu-sun*[305] in a north-western direction more than 200 *li*, the ground rising gradually. After a halt, the traveller then crossed the *Han Hai*. The country was very high and cold, and notwithstanding the great heat in summer, the snow never melts there. The rocky mountains were covered all over with fine pine trees.[306] After seven days travelling in a south-western direction, Ch'ang Te had crossed the *Han hai*,[307] and de-

for, when in about 1713 the Jesuit missionaries visited the valley of the Orkhon; and 160 years later, Paderin, Russian Consul at Urga, tried to decide the question of the position of ancient Karakorum by local investigation. Guided by the itinerary of the Chinese mediæval traveller Ch'ang Te hui (see notes 104, 127), he succeeded in discovering, at a distance of thirty or forty English miles south-east of lake *Ughei nor*, and from four to six miles west of the Orkhon river, the ruins of an ancient city, which the Mongols called *Khara khorem* (Black rampart), also *Khara balgasun* (Black city). This he believes was ancient Karakorum. The account given by Paderin of his journey and his discovery was published in the "Proceedings of the Russian Geographical Society," 1873. An English translation of this paper by Mad. Fedchenko, annotated by Colonel Yule, appeared in the "Geographical Magazine," 1874, p. 137 *seqq*. It seems, however, that Paderin is mistaken in his supposition. At least it does not agree with the position assigned to the ancient Mongol residence in the Mongol annals Erdenin erikhe, translated into Russian in 1883 by Professor Pozdneyeff. It is there positively stated (p. 110, note 2) that the monastery of *Erdenidsu*, founded in 1585, was erected on the ruins of that city, which once had been built by order of Ogotai Khan, and where he had established his residence; and where, after the expulsion of the Mongols from China, Togontemur again had fixed the Mongol court. This vast monastery still exists, one English mile, or more, east of the Orkhon. It has even been astronomically determined by the Jesuit missionaries, and is marked on our maps of Mongolia. Pozdneyeff, who visited the place in 1877, obligingly informs me that the square earthen wall surrounding the monastery of Erdenidsu, and measuring about an English mile in circumference, may well be the very wall of ancient Karakorum.

[305] There was before our era, and in the early period after it, a people called *Wu-sun*, who dwelt at first north of the present province of Kan su, and emigrated subsequently to Dsungaria. In the time of the Mongols it had disappeared centuries ago. The Chinese, however, like to use ancient names of countries in their books. Compare note 319.

[306] My translation of the above somewhat obscure passage is perhaps not correct; for the literal meaning of it would be: The stones (rocks) of the mountains all bear figures of pine trees.

[307] About the *Han hai* see note 9. Ch'ang Te, as appears from his account, comprises in this appellation the Khangai and the Altai mountains, and the elevated plateau between these ranges.

scending gradually for 300 *li*, arrived at a river several *li* broad. It was called *Hun mu-lien*,[308] and in summer often overflows the country. He crossed the river in a boat, and a few days later passed the river *Lung-gu*.[309]

Thence he proceeded again in a north-western direction, the distance by road southward to *Bie-shi-ba-li*[310] at the nearest point being 500 *li*. There were a great number of Chinese (in the country through which the traveller was now passing).[311] They cultivate wheat, barley, *shu* (millet, Panicum miliaceum), and *ku* (Setaria italica).

The river (Lung-gu) flows westward, stagnates and forms a lake, which is more than a thousand *li* in cir-

[308] *Hun muren* or Hun river. *Hun* in Mongol as well as in Chinese means "muddy." Another Chinese traveller, a contemporary of Ch'ang Te, calls the Tula river *Hun Du-la*. See note 127. The commentators of the Si shi ki agree in identifying the Hun muren of the mediæval traveller with the *Dsapkhan* of our days. Matussoffsky, in July 1870, went along the southern bank of this river, in its middle part, for more than seventy miles. According to him (Potanin's "Mongolia," i. 367), it forms many branches; its water is generally deep; fords are not frequent. It has a rapid current, and overflows sometimes the adjacent lowlands. Pevtsoff (p. 41), who in September 1878 saw the same portion of the river, but it seems at the time of low water, says that the water of the Dsapkhan is generally shallow, seldom attaining a depth of six or seven feet, whilst its breadth varies from 80 to 140 feet. Potanin, *l. c.*, 222, crossed the Upper Dsapkhan in July 1877, where it was fordable. But the identification of the Hun muren of the Chinese traveller with the Dsapkhan is not free from doubt; for Ch'ang Te states that a few days after crossing the Hun muren he reached the Ulungur river. The distance between this river and the Dsapkhan, as the crow flies, is more than 230 English miles, and the Altai with its difficult defiles has to be crossed. Ch'ang Te does not mention at all this mountain range. Perhaps his Hun muren was the *Black Irtysh*, which is a more important river than the Dsapkhan.

[309] Doubtless the *Ulungur* river, which discharges itself into the Kizilbash lake.

[310] *Bishbalik;* see notes 155, 157. Thus Ch'ang Te's route lay more to the north than that followed by Ch'ang ch'un.

[311] The traveller evidently proceeded along the Ulungur river down to lake Kizilbash, where still a cart-way exists (see note 151). There is now near the mouth of the Ulungur a Chinese city, *Bulun tokhoi*, founded in 1872; but, as Przewalsky states ("Tibet," 14), there was a Chinese settlement before that time. According to Potanin (*l. c.*, i. 15), Chinese and Turguts cultivate the land around this city. They sow wheat, barley, millet, Setaria italica, &c.

cumference. Its name is *Ki-tse-li-ba-sz'*.[312] It abounds in excellent fish. There are mills (on the river) which are put in motion by the running water.

Proceeding gradually westward, Ch'ang Te arrived at a city called *Ye-man*.[313] Farther to the south-west a city *Bu-lo*[314] was reached. In this country wheat and rice are cultivated. On the mountains many *po* trees[315] are found, but they do not thrive vigorously, and grow tortuously between the stones. The dwelling-houses and bazaars stand interspersed among the gardens. The houses are built of clay, and the windows furnished with glass.

To the north of this place (Bu-lo) is the *Hai t'ie shan* (the iron hill of the lake). A furious wind comes out from the hill (or mountain) and blows people passing there into the lake.[316]

[312] For the first information regarding the *Kizilbash* or *Ulungur* lake, as it is more commonly called now-a-days, we are indebted to Sosnoffsky and Matussoffsky, who in 1873 visited it, and explored the country around it. Before that time the existence of a lake called Kizilbash was known to us only from Chinese maps and from Ch'ang Te's narrative. Potanin saw the same lake in 1876, and Przewalsky in 1879, on his journey to Tibet, passed by the Ulungur lake, and then proceeded along the river of the same name, which, as I have stated, discharges into the lake near Bulun tokhoi. According to Przewalsky, the lake as well as the river abound in fish, of which the most common are a *Squalius* and *Carassius vulgaris* (Crucian).

The Kizilbash is also mentioned in the Yüan shi. In chap. cxlix., biography of *Te hai*, it is stated that *Dje-bo* (the famous Mongol general, *Tjebe* of Rashid-eddin), on his expedition to the west, passed by the lake *Ki-tse-li-ba-shi* and attacked *T'ie shan* (iron hill).

[313] *Ye-man* is probably intended for *Emil* or Imil, which was the name of a city situated on a river of the same name in the days of the Mongols. The river has still the same name. It is an eastern affluent of the Alakul lake. I shall speak more in detail of this place in Book III.

[314] Evidently the same as the city of *Bu-la* in *Ye lü Ch'u ts'ai's* narrative. See note 16.

[315] *Po* is the Chinese name for *Thuja orientalis*, a species confined to Eastern Asia. Our traveller saw probably *juniperus* shrubs.

[316] There can be no doubt that the lake here alluded to is the *Ala kul*. Pl. Carpini as well as Rubruk, on their journey to the Great Khan, passed by this lake. Carpini (751), after mentioning the city of *Omyl* (Emil; see note 313), continues: "Inde exeuntes quoddam mare non multum magnum invenimus. In littore autem illius maris est quidam mons parvus, in

Proceeding south-west twenty *li*, Ch'ang Te reached a defile which was called *T'ie-mu-rh ts'an-ch'a*. It was guarded by Chinese. The way leading through the defile was very rugged, with overhanging rocks.[317] After quitting

quo est quoddam foramen ut dicitur, unde in hyeme exeunt tam magnæ tempestates ventorum, quod homines vix et cum magno periculo possunt transire. In æstate autem ibi semper auditur quidam sonitus ventorum, sed tenuiter de foramine exit, sicut nobis incolæ referebant. Per littora illius maris ivimus per plures dies; quod mare plures insulas habet; et illud demisimus a sinistris."

Rubruk (294), after quitting *Kaïlak*, arrived in four days at a great lake, with a great island in it. A valley opened upon the head of the lake from the south-east, and up this valley among the mountains was another lake. Through this gorge at times such furious gusts of wind blew that riders were apt to be blown into the lake.

Putimtsoff, a Russian traveller, was the first who visited the Alakul lake in modern times, in 1811. Thirty years later Schrenk explored the lake and its environs (Peterm. "Geogr. Mitth.," 1868, p. 80). Since the Russian occupation of those tracts the Alakul has frequently been visited and described by European travellers. See Morgan's account of the lake in his translation of Przewalsky's "Journey to the Lob nor," p. 188 *seqq.*; Kostenko's "Turkestan," i. 171. At the present day the Alakul consists of three lakes. From the largest of these three, the Alakul strictly speaking, rises the black rocky cone called *Aral tube* (insular peak), 630 feet above the surface of the water. This is probably the "*T'ie shan* (or iron hill) of the lake," noticed in our Chinese narrative, and mentioned also in the Yüan shi (see note 312). Near it is a second small island, and some versts to the north a rock rises straight up from the water, connected with the shore by a narrow neck of land. To the south-east of the Alakul is another lake, *Djelanashch kul* or "open lake," so called because it can be seen from a great many points in the neighbourhood. This is probably the second lake which Rubruk saw. It has no communication with the Alakul. Rubruk's valley opening upon the head of the lake from the south-east can also be identified. It is the narrow valley separating the Barlyk from the Alatau range, which leads in a south-eastern direction to the steppes of Mongolia. Kostenko ("Turkestan," i. 55) states that this gorge, known under the name of *Kaptagai*, is famed in the whole of Central Asia for the violent tempests which blow in it, and frequently put a stop to all communications. Morgan reports that the Kirghizes and the Tartars have a legend that this wind issues from some caverns which the Kalmuks have in vain tried to fill up with stones. It must be noticed that Ch'ang Te, in speaking of the iron hill in the lake, only states that it is to the north of the place he passed through. He did not himself see the Alakul.

[317] Twenty *li* is, it seems, a mistake. The text leads us to understand twenty *li* from the city of Bu-lo. Wylie suggests that *T'ie-mu-rh ts'an-ch'a* may be intended for "temor cham," iron road, or "temor cham chab-

this defile Ch'ang Te arrived at *A-li-ma-li*.[318] There the reservoirs in the market-places were connected by running water. As regards fruits, there were melons, grapes, and pomegranates of excellent quality. The *Hui-ho* (Mohammedans) in *A-li-ma-li* lived mixed up with the Chinese, and gradually their customs had got changed into the customs of the middle kingdom.

South (of Alimalik) there was a city called *Ch'i-mu-rh*. Amongst the inhabitants there were a great many Chinese from *Ping* and *Fen*.[319]

There is in this country an animal which resembles a tiger, but its hair is more dense, and is gold-coloured, while the skin is without stripes. It is very ferocious and attacks men.[320] There is also an insect resembling a spider. When the poison of it enters a man's body, violent thirst is felt. Should he then drink water he will die instantly; but when he can intoxicate himself by grape wine to induce vomiting, then the poison is neutralised.[321] They have also a kind of wine with a strong smell.

sar," iron roadway, in Mongol. There can be no doubt that the defile here noticed is the same described in Ch'ang ch'un's itinerary, and passed by the latter before arriving at Almalik. See note 170; compare also note 443.

[318] *Almalik;* see note 172.

[319] *Ping* or *Ping chou* was the name of one of the twelve provinces into which China was divided 4000 years ago, corresponding to the northern part of the present provinces of Chili and Shansi. We must not be surprised at meeting with this name in an article written in the thirteenth century, after it had disappeared from Chinese maps for many centuries. Chinese authors even in our days consider it a requisite of the erudite style to use the most ancient names of places in their writings, instead of the common ones. *Fen* means *Fen chou*, now *Fen chou fu* in Shansi. See also note 305. Even at the present time the people of the province of Shansi are much inclined to seek their fortune far from their native soil.

[320] Pallas in his "Nachrichten über die Mongol. Völker," i. 36, states that the Kalmuks told him about a beast called *Khara khulla* (black-eared) which is found in the Altai mountains. According to their description, it resembles the lion, and is very ferocious. Its fur is long-haired and of a deep brown colour. This beast, as well as that mentioned in the Chinese narrative, is the desert lynx, *Felis caracal*, which, as is known, possesses great strength and fierceness. Its fur is not spotted, as that of the common

Going from the city of Bu-lo westward, the coins in use are made of gold, silver, and copper, and bear inscriptions, but they have no square holes.[322]

European lynx. The latter is also found in Central and Eastern Asia, and, as Radde states, the Siberian lynxes are not spotted. The fur of the lynx is much appreciated by the Mongols. They call it *sheluss*. Rubruck (231) mentions, among the furs used by the Mongols, the *papio*, which properly means the baboon ; but most probably he saw skins of the lynx.

[321] Schuyler ("Turkestan," ii. 123) states : "This region (Aulie ata on the Talas river) is infested by the *karakurt* (black worm) spiders (*Latrodectes lugubris*), by far the most venomous of all such vermin native to this country. It is said that its poison will kill a man. The Kirghizes annually lose many animals through the bite of this spider." *Ibid.*, 128 : "The *tarantula* (*Lycosa singoriensis*) is black with a body of the size of a pigeon's egg, covered with dark brown or black hair. The *phalange* (*Solpugo araneoides* and *S. intrepida*) is of a yellowish or reddish brown, also with long hair, and when walking seems as large as one's two fists. They frequent the steppes and live in the sand."

A very correct Chinese description of the phalange is found in the *Si yü wen kien lu*, a record of Eastern Turkestan and Central Asia, published in 1777, by a Manchu officer, from personal observation. The author states : "The *pa cha ch'ung* (insect with eight legs) is found everywhere in the countries of the new frontier (Turkestan). It resembles the spider, and is of globular form and dirty yellow colour. It has eight not very long legs and a reddish-brown mouth. The mouth is formed by four branches. (I may observe that the mandibles of the phalange present four sharp claws, with which they inflict wounds.) When the insect bites iron, it can be heard. Its body is yellowish green ; the skin is transparent, like that of the silkworm. It is found in damp places near canals, and also in houses. The larger ones are the size of a hen's egg ; the smaller ones are as big as a walnut. When violent wind blows, they quit their holes, and, aided by the wind, enter the houses. They run very quickly, and when angry, rise on their eight legs and attack men. If one should happen to creep upon a man's body, he must not touch it, but wait until it goes away of its own accord, when there will be no danger. But as soon as one interferes with the insect he is bitten immediately. The poison enters the body, causes great pain, and penetrates to the heart and to the marrow of the bones. When in such a case immediate help cannot be obtained, the man's body will mortify and death will ensue. When he has been only slightly bitten, if he catch the insect and bruise it, there will be no danger. But when it has succeeded in spitting a white web on the wound, then death will be inevitable. Sometimes the sap expressed from the plant *ts'ien ts'ao* (a kind of madder plant, *Rubia*) and applied to the wound is useful, but generally out of a hundred men bitten by the *pa cha ch'ung*, only one or two escape."

[322] The Chinese have only copper coins, which are provided with square holes. Ingots of silver, estimated by weight, form the money in use.

Ch'ang Te now entered the country called *Ma-a*,[323] where the people (in winter) are used to put horses to sledges, and carry heavy burdens in this manner from station to station, going very quickly. It is reported that the *Ki-li-ki-sz'* (Kirghizes; see note 262) instead of horses use dogs (for drawing sledges).[324]

On the 24th of the second month (March 18) Ch'ang Te passed between the two mountains *I-tu*.[325] The ground there was level and the population numerous. The country was intersected in all directions by canals, which irrigated the fields. Numerous ancient walls and other ruins were seen. The people said that in former times the *K'i-tan* dwelt there.[326] Ch'ang Te calculated that this country was 15,000 *li* distant from *Ho-lin* (Karakorum).[327] In the neighbourhood there is a river called *Yi-yün*; it

[323] It is difficult to say what country is intended by *Ma-a*, perhaps *Mavar-an-nahar*, by which term the Mohammedan authors understand what we call *Transoxiana*, the countries beyond (east of) the Oxus. Mavar-an-nahar, in Arabic, has also the meaning "transfluvialis." Properly only the land between the Oxus (Djihun) and the Iaxartes (Sihun) was called so, whilst the countries east of the Sihun were comprised in the general name of Turkestan. But d'Herbelot ("Bibl. Orient.," art. "Sihoun") observes, that the Mohammedan authors very often confounded Turkestan with Mavar-an-nahar.

[324] Although snowfall is not uncommon in Turkestan, and masses of snow in winter lie in the mountains there, I do not believe that in the countries Ch'ang Te passed through sledges have ever been made use of. As to dog-sledges, M. Polo (ii. 480) mentions them as in use in the dominions of King Conchi (Siberia), and Schildberger (beginning of fifteenth century) in *Ibir-sibir*. The Kirghizes in the thirteenth century dwelt on the Irtysh and the Upper Yenissei.

[325] Colonel Yule in his "Cathay" (ccxiii.), written in 1866, when good maps of Turkestan did not yet exist, asks whether Itu of the Chinese travellers may perhaps mean the two parallel ranges called Ala-tagh. Ch'ang Te's way lay indeed, as that of Ch'ang ch'un (see note 185), along the northern slope of the *Alatau*, north of Issikul lake, and crossed it in the *Kastek* pass, and then came to the river *Chu*, which runs there in a broad valley between the Alatau and the Alexander ranges.

[326] As regards the *K'i-tan* or Karakhitai and their settlements on the *Chu* river, see notes 22, 179, and 185.

[327] One of my editions has 5000 *li*, which would be near the truth.

runs bubbling to the east.[328] The natives say that this is the source of the *Huang ho* (Yellow River).[329]

On the 28th of the second month (March 22) Ch'ang Te passed *T'a-la-sze*,[330] and on the 1st of the third month (March 25) arrived at *Sai-lan*.[331] There is a tower (*fou-t'u*) in which the *Hui-ho* (Mohammedans) worship.

On the 3d of the third month (March 27) he arrived at *Bie-shi-lan*.[332] There was at this place a fair of the *Hui-ho*, just as we are accustomed to have on that day in our own country.[333]

On the 4th of the third month (March 28) he crossed the river *Hu-k'ien* [334] in a boat which resembled a Chinese lady's shoe.[335] The people said that the sources of this river run out from a great mountain in the south. This mountain, which produces abundance of *yü* (jade), is supposed to be the *K'un lun*.[336]

Proceeding to the west, one frequently meets tortoises and snakes crawling about together.[337] In this country are post-stations and inns having the appearance of bath-

[328] A mistake for west.

[329] The river *Yi-yün* seems to be the *Chu* river, or perhaps one of its western affluents. The name of Yellow River used here refers, as Colonel Yule thinks, to the muddy colour of its water. Indeed, the great geography of the Chinese empire (Stan. Julien, "Mélanges de Géogr. Asiat.," p. 72) explains, with respect to the name of the *Ch'ui* river, that in the language of the Dzongars *ch'ui* means "muddy."

[330] The city of *Talas*. See note 23.

[331] The city of *Sairam*. See note 186. Ch'ang ch'un mentions also a tower in Sairam.

[332] This name is probably misspelt. It appears, however, also in the Yüan shi, chap. cxlix., biography of *K'uo Pao yü*, in which it is recorded that this general, after taking part in the expedition against the K'itan, and in the sacking of the ordo of *Ku-chu-ko* (Guchluk, gurkhan of the Karakhitai, whose residence was on the Chu river), reduced *Bie-shi-lan*, and then crossed the river *Hu-ch'ang* (Sir-daria ; see note 189). It seems that by Bie-shi-lan *Tashkend* is meant.

[333] The 3rd of the third month in China is a holy day and a fair day.

[334] The *Sihun* or Sir-daria ; see note 189.

[335] Literally, a shoe resembling a bow.

[336] The Chinese name of the great mountain range which separates Tibet from Eastern Turkestan.

[337] See note 249.

ing-houses.[338] The doors and windows are provided with glass.[339]

The people pay ten gold coins tax per head per annum as a maximum,[340] but a difference is made between the rich and the poor.

On the 8th of the third month (April 1) Ch'ang Te arrived at the city of *Sün-sz'-kan*,[341] which is very large and populous. Just at that time a great many flowers were in bloom. Among the plants of that country, only the *mo li hua* (*Jasminum sambac*), the *ts'iang wei* (a rose), and the *mei kui* (also a rose) are the same as in China. There are numerous other flowers, the names of which cannot be recollected. West of the city (of Samarkand) the people cultivate vines, the common rice, and wheat, which is sown in autumn (winter-wheat).

The country produces many medicinal plants, all unknown in China, and very efficacious in curing diseases. There is the *a-rh-dji*, which resembles the *k'u shen* (a leguminous plant, *Sophora angustifolia* in Japan), and cures the ulcers of horses. It is also useful in cases of wounds and in the prevention of miscarriage. Taking a dose the size of a bean and swallowing it, the patient will recover. The *a-si-rh* resembles the *ti ku p'i* (cortex radicis *Lycii*), and is useful in cases of retained placenta. It is also employed in wounds inflicted by sharp weapons when the pus is not discharged. Take this medicine, masticate and rub it into the wound, when suppuration will appear. The *nu-k'o-sa-rh* resembles the *kie keng* (*Platycodon grandiflorum*), and cures wounds inflicted by sharp weapons, also rupture of the bowels and of the tendons. By rubbing this medicine, after it has been masticated, into the

[338] The traveller means probably caravansaries.

[339] The Chinese never use glass for their windows, but paper, in the north especially.

[340] Rashid reports (d'Ohsson, iii. 127): "Mangu Khan in 1251 ordered, regarding the taxes in Persia, that from the poorest one *dinar* (a gold piece) had to be collected, and from the richest ten dinars."

[341] *Samarkand.* See note 195.

affected part, the divided portions will draw together. It is impossible to enumerate all the drugs there.[342]

On the 14th of the third month (April 7) Ch'ang Te crossed the river *An-bu*.[343] In this country it does not rain in summer, but it rains in autumn, and then the fields become moistened.[344] There are swarms of locusts, and flights of birds appear which eat them.[345]

On the 19th (April 12) he passed the city of *Li-ch'ou*.[346] Many mulberry trees and jujubes grow there. There was the place where, at the time of the expedition to the west, the army rested for some time.[347]

On the 26th (April 19) Ch'ang Te passed the city of *Ma-lan*, and farther on arrived at the city of *Na-shang*.[348] All the herb there is *mu su*.[349]

[342] The Chinese author, in comparing the medicinal plants of Samarkand with those of China, means the drugs (roots). I am not able to venture upon identifying these drugs.

[343] The *Amu* river or Oxus. See note 213.

[344] This is a correct statement as to Persia and Transoxiana. In China, on the contrary, it very seldom rains in autumn or winter, but in the hottest season very heavy rains are the rule.

[345] The birds here mentioned belong to a kind of starling, *Pastor roseus*, which is a zealous exterminator of locusts; and in the countries visited by migratory locusts, these useful birds follow them in flocks of hundreds and thousands.

[346] It is impossible to identify the places mentioned in Ch'ang Te's itinerary after he crossed the Amu river. Judging from the description he gives of the country, there can be little doubt that he followed the direct route to Tebriz, where Hulagu had fixed his residence, through Khorassan.

[347] It is not said whether Chinghiz Khan's expedition in 1220, or that of Hulagu in 1256, is meant, but probably the latter. We have seen that Hulagu rested with his army for several months in the prairies of *Shubur-gan*, west of Balkh. There appears in the above passage, in the Chinese text, the term *ao-lu-t'un*, which Rémusat in his translation takes to be the name of a man, Ala-eddin. Pauthier explains that Ao-lu-t'un was a Mohammedan general in the Mongol army. But the French sinologues are mistaken. By *ao-lu*, which term occurs frequently in the Yüan shi, "head-quarters" are meant. Thus the Chinese explain this Mongol word. It is the same as *aoul*, used in many Asiatic languages to designate an encampment of nomades. It has become also a Russian word. *T'un* means a military camp.

[348] By *Ma-lan* and *Na-shang* probably *Meru* (Merv) and *Nishapur* are meant. Both cities are repeatedly mentioned in the Yüan shi, and

On the 29th (April 22) he passed the city of *Ti-sao-rh*.[350] The mountains there abound in a kind of salt which resembles *shui tsing* (rock crystal).[351]

At a distance of six or seven *li* (evidently a mistake) to the south-west from this place is (the frontier of) the lately conquered realm of the *Mu-nai-hi*.[352] All the oxen there are black, and bear a hump on the neck.[353] The country is destitute of water; the people dig wells on the summits of the mountains, and conduct the water several tens of *li* down into the plain, for the purpose of irrigating their fields.[354]

This realm (of the Ismaelians) had 360 mountain fortresses, all which had been reduced. There was, however, west of *Dan-han* a mountain fortress, *Ki-du-bu-gu*,[355] on a very steep rock, which could not be reached either by arrows or by stones (thrown by catapults). In the year 1256 the imperial army arrived at the foot of this fortress. The rock was so steep, that when one looked upwards his cap fell off. But as the army advanced simultaneously from all sides, the enemy was seized with

marked on the Chinese mediæval map. These names are rendered there by *Ma-lu* or *Ma-li-wu* and *Ni-sha-bu-rh*.

[349] Rémusat translates *mu su* by millet. But it means the lucern (*Medicago sativa*), even in our days the favourite fodder plant for horses and cattle in Persia.

[350] The name may also be read *Hi-sao-rh*. Perhaps *Sebzivar*, west of Nishapur.

[351] Conolly, in his journey to the north of India overland, i. 250, speaks of rock-salt mines near Nishapur. See also note 235.

[352] The *Mulahida* or Ismaelians. See note 289.

[353] The traveller saw the humpbacked cattle, *zebu*, *Bos indicus*, so common all over India and the whole of Persia. The zebu is mentioned much earlier in Chinese books. The history of the Posterior Han dynasty, in the beginning of our era, speaks of the *feng niu*, humpback oxen, as found in *T'iao chi*, a far country in the west, which seems to answer to Persia (Tadjiks).

[354] This is still the custom all over Persia. The aqueducts are all subterraneous, in order to prevent the evaporation of the water. As in Persia it never rains in summer, agriculture would be impossible there without this artificial irrigation.

[355] *Ghirdkuh* is meant; see note 290. *Dan-han* is evidently intended for *Damghan*.

terror. The minister, *Da-dje Na-shi-rh*, was delegated to offer submission.[356] After this *Wu-lu-wu-nai suan-t'an* surrendered. *Suan-t'an* (in their language) means *kuo wang* (king). His father with one part of the army maintained himself in the (other) mountain fortresses. Then the son received orders (from Hulagu) to take these fortresses, and in seven days all surrendered.[357] The booty of gold, precious stones, and other precious things was enormous. Among the spoil were girdles valued at a thousand silver *hu* each.[358]

Let me quote for comparison, from the biography of the above-mentioned general, *Kuo K'an*, the accounts given about the capture of the fortresses of the Ismaelians.

Kuo K'an was ordered to take part in the expedition to the west commanded by the prince *Hü-lie-wu* (Hulagu). In the year 1253 the army (*i.e.*, the vanguard commanded by *Kitubuka*) reached the realm of *Mu-nai-hi*. The roads had been made impassable by the enemy by means of trenches and wells; and the wells had been poisoned. But Kuo K'an defeated the army of the Mu-nai-hi, took a hundred and twenty-eight cities, and killed the commander, *Hu-du-da-rh wu-dju su-t'an*. In the year 1256 Kuo K'an arrived at *Ki-du-bu* (Ghirdkuh). The fortress was situated on the top of the mountain *Dan-han*. It was only accessible by suspended ladders, and these were guarded by the most valiant troops. Kuo K'an invested the place (according to the Persian authors the Mongols built a wall all round), but it could not be taken. It was then battered by means of catapults (*kia p'ao*), when the commandant, *Bu-djo Na-shi-rh*, surrendered. Hü-lie-wu sent Kuo K'an to *Wu-lu-wu-nai su-t'an* to summon him to come and submit in person. His

[356] Rémusat identifies this minister with the celebrated astronomer and minister, *Nasser-eddin* of *Thus*. The Chinese traveller may have intended this high officer; but the Persian historians state that Khodja Nasser-eddin, as Rashid calls him, was not in Ghirdkuh, but with Rokn-eddin in Meimundiz. It seems, however, that Ch'ang Te confounds the assault of the latter place with the capture of Ghirdkuh.

[357] We have seen, in the accounts given by the Persian authors of the same events, that Rokn-eddin, having surrendered himself, gave orders to the commandants of the fortresses to capitulate. But his father, mentioned in the Chinese report, was not alive at the time spoken of. He had been slain in December 1255.

[358] Up to the present time the rich in Persia adorn their girdles with precious stones of great value.

father, *A-li*, maintained himself in the western fortress. Kuo K'an took it, and then went to the eastern one, forced it also, and killed all the people.[359]

The army of the *Mu-la-hi* consisted exclusively of *Assassins*.[360] They were accustomed, when they saw a young man, to seduce him by holding out some advantage, and brought him to feel no repugnance to assassinating his father or brother. After this they enrolled him, and having been intoxicated by wine, he was carried into a cavern, and there diverted by music and fair damsels. During several days all his wishes were gratified. Finally, he was carried again to the former place, and when he awoke they asked him what he had seen, and informed him that if he would agree to become a *tz'e-k'o* (Assassin) he would enjoy after death all that happiness by which he was surrounded. Then they gave him every day certain prayers and exorcisms to read. Finally, (his heart became so captivated that) he was not afraid to execute any commission, and accomplish it without fear of death. The Mu-la-hi sent their emissaries secretly to the countries which had not yet submitted, with orders to

[359] Compare notes 356, 357. By *A-li*, evidently *Ala-eddin*, the father of Rokn-eddin, is meant. He was dead at the time spoken of, but he was alive at the beginning of the siege of the fortresses. It is reported that Ala-eddin had succeeded in sending reinforcements to the invested fortress Ghirdkuh (d'Ohsson, iii. 189).

[360] The Chinese text has *tz'e k'o*. The first character means "to stab," the second "guest." Both in combination mean, not a simple assassin, but an assassin sent by the orders of another to stab a man. Thus the Chinese term *tz'e k'o* would be more significant for designating the Ismaelians than our "Assassin." This latter term was carried to Europe by the Crusaders. S. de Sacy thinks that they were called *Hashishiya* or *Hashishin*, from their use of the preparation of hemp called *hashish;* and thence, through their system of murder, came the modern application of the word assassin.

Rubruk, p. 265, states: "Mare Caspium habet montes *Mulieh*, hoc est *Axasinorum* ad orientem." *Ibid.*, p. 347: "Mangu Chan misit fratrem suum uterinum in terram *Hasasinorum* qui dicitur *Mulihet* ab eis, et precepit quod omnes interficiantur."

M. Polo, i. 145, calls the country of the Ismaelians also *Mulahet*, and his account of their mystical cult is almost exactly the same as given by the Chinese author.

stab the rulers. It was the same with regard to women. (I understand they were also sent to assassinate.) The realm of the Mu-la-hi was hated in the western countries. During forty years they had spread terror through the neighbouring kingdoms, but when the imperial army arrived they were exterminated; not one escaped.

On the 6th of the fourth month (April 28) Ch'ang Te passed the city of *Ghi-li-rh*.[361] There the snakes all have four feet and are five feet long. The head is black and the body yellow. The skin resembles that of the *sha yü* (shark). They eject from the mouth a handsome red substance.[362]

In Kuo K'an's biography we read: In the first month (January and February) of 1257, Kuo K'an reached *Wu-li-rh* (I suppose the same as Ghi-li-rh). The enemy was enticed into an ambuscade and defeated. *Hai-ya su-t'an* (Sultan Giath ?) submitted.

Ch'ang Te passed the city of (or the city belonging to) *A-la-ding* (Ala-eddin) and *Ma-tze-ts'ang-rh*.[363] There the people had their hair dishevelled, and wrapped their heads with a red turban.

Kuo K'an's biography: Proceeding farther to the west, he reached the dominions of *A-la-ding*, and dispersed his army of 30,000 men. *Ma-dsa-da-rh su-t'an* surrendered. (There is evidently a confusion of the names.)

Henceforth Ch'ang Te's narrative loses the character of a diary. He says nothing more about the way followed farther on, or about his mission to Hulagu. The last date he gives in his diary is the 6th of the fourth month (April 28). His journey from Karakorum to Ghi-li-rh (somewhere near Mazanderan), February 13th—April 28th,

[361] It is impossible to identify this place, but probably it was near the eastern border of the province of Mazanderan.

[362] Perhaps the traveller saw *chameleons*. These lizards, as is known, have a long prehensile tail. Their tongue is long and red, and covered with a viscid saliva, being darted at their prey. But chameleons are not so long as the narrative states.

[363] Perhaps *Mazanderan* is meant; but in Kuo K'an's biography almost the same name is given to a sultan.

1259, had taken seventy-four days. Hulagu, as the Persian authors report, was at that time in Tebriz, where he had established his residence. It was only in September of 1259 that he started for the expedition to Syria. The rest of the Si shi ki consists, as we shall see, in relating the military events before Ch'ang Te's arrival, in accounts of the newly-conquered countries in Western Asia, their products, the customs of the people, &c. The traveller seems to report only what he had heard. At the end of the narrative it is stated that he was abroad fourteen months. His diary embraces only a period of two months and a half. No indication is found there where he spent the rest of the time. Let us see what the traveller further reports.

Since the imperial (Mongol) armies had entered the *Si yii* (the countries of the west), about thirty realms had been conquered.

There is a Buddhist kingdom (*Fo kuo*) called *K'i-shi-mi* (*Cashmere*), situated north-west of *Yin-du* (*Hindustan*). There the cloths and the cup[364] of *Shi-kia* (*Sakiamuni* or Buddha) are handed down from generation to generation. The men in that country have a venerable and patriarchal appearance. They look like the paintings we see in China representing *Ta-mo*.[365] They (the religious) eat only lenten food. One man consumes in a day one *ho*[366] of rice. They spend the whole day till late at night in religious exercises and contemplation.[367]

[364] The cup of a Buddhist monk (*patra* in Sanskrit).

[365] *Ta-mo* is *Bodhi-dharma*, the twenty-eighth of the Buddhist patriarchs in India, who went to China in the first half of the sixth century, and established there the doctrine of Buddha (Edkins, "Chinese Buddhism," 99). The French missionaries in former times, who wished at any cost to prove the early existence of Christianity in China, when they first met the name of *Ta-mo* in Chinese books, had no doubt that the apostle *Thomas* was meant, who thus had carried the Christian faith to China. See Gaubil's "Histoire de l'Astronomie Chinoise," p. 56, note.

[366] One *ho* is as much as can be held with both hands placed together.

[367] M. Polo (i. 175) states with respect to Cashmere: "Indeed this

The biography of Kuo K'an mentions also *K'i-shi-mi* (Cashmere) and a Sultan *Hu-li*, who surrendered to the Mongol arms.[368]

In the year 1258[369] the kingdom of *Bao-da*[370] was taken. It stretches from north to south 2000 *li*. The king had the title of *Ha-li-fa* (calif). The city (the capital) was divided into a western and an eastern part. A large river ran between them. The western city had no walls, but the eastern one was fortified, and the walls were built of large bricks. The upper part of the walls was of splendid construction.[371]

When the imperial army arrived beneath the walls, the battle began, and a great victory was gained over 400,000 men. At first the western city was taken and the population massacred; then the army continued besieging the eastern city. After six days' storming[372] it was taken,

country is the very original source from which idolatry (*i.e.*, Buddhism) has spread abroad." And farther on we read: "There are in this country eremites, who dwell in seclusion and practise great abstinence in eating and drinking," &c.

[368] We read in the Yüan shi, annals, *s. a.* 1253: The emperor (Mangu) sent the generals *Ta-ta-rh-dai* and *Sa-li tu-lu-hua* to *Hin-du-sz'* and *K'ie-shi-mi-rh*. This fact is confirmed by Rashid-eddin, who states that when Hulagu received orders to attack Iran, *Sali noyen* was sent with 2000 men to *Hindustan* and *Cashmere* to conquer and to govern these countries. He was subordinated to the command of Hulagu. Sali succeeded in conquering many countries, and made great booty, which he offered to Hulagu, together with many Hindu prisoners.

As Rashid informs us that Sali belonged to the tribe of the *Tatars Tutukaliuts*, it is possible that the correct reading of the above Chinese passage would be: The emperor sent the general *Ta-ta-rh-dai Sa-li tu-lu-hua*, &c. *Tu-lu-hua* is probably intended for *daruga*, governor. See note 695. Compare d'Ohsson, ii. 280, and Berezin's "Rashid," i. 63.

[369] Rémusat and Pauthier translate: 1257. The Chinese text has *ting sze*, which indeed answers to the year 1257. But as the Chinese year began in February, the end of the year ting sze was in January 1258, and just in January 1258 Bagdad was taken, according to the Persian authors.

[370] I may observe that M. Polo (i. 64) terms Bagdad *Baudas*.

[371] This description of *Baudad* agrees perfectly with the accounts left by the Mohammedan authors of the residence of the Calif. Ancient Bagdad was situated on the eastern border of the *Tigris*, and was fortified, whilst the suburb *Karshi*, situated on the western border, had no walls.

[372] The Persian authors also state that Bagdad was taken after six days' storming.

and several tens of thousands were killed. The *Ha-li-fa* tried to flee in a boat, but was captured.

In Kuo K'an's biography we find some additional details about the capture of Bagdad :—

Bao-da is a great kingdom in the west. It is 8000 *li* in circumference. Between the two cities there runs a large river. At the time of the siege Kuo K'an constructed floating bridges to intercept the retreat of the enemy on the river. After the city was taken the *Ha-li-fa* tried to flee in a boat, but having seen that the river was barred, he went himself to the encampment (of the Mongols) and surrendered.

In the same biography a general of the *Ha-li-fa*, by name *Djou-da-rh*, is mentioned, who was pursued by Kuo K'an. In the evening the Mongol army was tired and wished to rest, but Kuo K'an did not permit this, and so proceeded more than ten *li* farther on. In the same night there was a heavy rain, and the place at which they first wished to rest was inundated, the water there being several feet deep. On the next day *Djou-da-rh* was captured and executed.[373] Kuo K'an took more than three hundred cities.

The kingdom of the *Ha-li-fa* at that time, considering its wealth and its numerous population, stood at the head of all the realms in the regions of the west. The palace of the Ha-li-fa was built of fragrant and precious woods.[374] The walls of it were constructed of black and white jade. It is impossible to imagine the quantity of gold and precious stones found there. The wives of the Ha-li-fa were all from China.[375] There were large pearls called *tai*

[373] It seems that by Djou-da-rh the minister and general of the Calif, *Devatdar*, is meant.

[374] These woods are enumerated in the text, namely : 1. *Ch'en* (properly *Ch'en hiang*), aloe-wood, highly prized in the East. It is yielded by *Aquilaria Agallocha* in India. The aloe-wood of Cochin-China is obtained from *Aloëxylon Agallochum*. 2. *T'an* (properly *t'an hiang*) is sandal-wood, yielded by *Santalum album*. 3. *Wu mu*, ebony, derived from various trees, the best from *Diopyros Ebenus*. 4. *Hiang chen hiang*, a red fragrant wood, obtained from *Cyminosma resinosa*, a tree of the Indian Archipelago. In Kuo K'an's biography it is stated that owing to the conflagration of the Calif's palace the air was impregnated with fragrance to a distance of a hundred *li*.

[375] An absurd statement. There is evidently some mistake in the text.

sui tan,[376] *lan shi*,[377] *se se*,[378] *kin kang tsuan*,[379] and many other precious things. Girdles were found which might be estimated at a thousand *liang* of gold.

This kingdom had endured for more than six hundred years under forty rulers, down to the time of the (last) Ha-li-fa, when it became extinct.[380]

The people there are handsomer than in other countries. The horses bred there are called *t'o-bi-ch'a*.[381]

The Ha-li-fa did not cheer himself up with wine. His beverage consisted of orange-juice with sugar.[382] They have guitars with thirty-six strings. One time the Ha-li-fa had headache, and when his physicians could not help him, a man was sent for who played on a guitar of a new invention with seventy-two strings. His headache ceased immediately after he heard this music.

The Ha-li-fa was venerated as a patriarch by all the people of the western countries who were subject to him.

[376] *T'ai sui* is the planet Jupiter; *tan*, a globule. Chardin ("Voyages en Perse," iii. 31) states that the Turks and the Tartars call the pearl "margeon," or globule of light.

[377] Evidently the name of a precious stone. See note 407.

[378] *Se se* is not, as Pauthier believes, a musical instrument, but the name of a precious stone, produced, as the Chinese materia medica states (Pen ts'ao kang mu, viii. 55), in the country of the Mohammedans. That of a bluish-green colour, like the sea, was called *se se* at the time of the T'ang dynasty. It is probably the turquoise. See Appendix II., and note 512.

[379] The common Chinese name for *diamond*, and not, as Pauthier translates, an instrument for boring diamonds.

[380] According to the Mohammedan annals, the Califate of Bagdad endured 626 years, A.D. 632–1258, under fifty-one Califs.

[381] In the Yüan ch'ao pi shi we read that under the reign of Ogotai Khan, the general *Charmahan* (see note 280) sent, together with other products from Western Asia, a number of *t'obichaut* (the Mongol plural form of t'obich'a) to the Mongol court. This term is explained there by "horses from *Bageda* with long necks and long legs," which description would suit the breed of the so-called Turkoman horses, highly prized even at the present day in Western Asia. In an Uigur-Chinese vocabulary of the fifteenth century *t'obich'a* is translated by *ta si ma* (big western horse). See also Shaw's "Vocabulary of the Turki Language," p. 71, *topchaq*= long-necked Turkoman horse; and Pavet de Courteille's "Mém. de Baber," préface.

[382] *Sherbet*, the favourite cooling drink in Western Asia.

To the west of Bao-da, twenty days' journey on horseback is the *T'ien fang*,[383] and in it the divine envoy of Heaven, the (first) patriarch of the western people, is buried. The name of this sage was *Pei-yen-ba-rh*.[384] In the interior of the temple there is an iron chain. When trying to grasp it, only the true believers will succeed; the unbelievers will never catch it. The people of the country have many sacred books written by the *Pei-yen-ba-rh*. The people are wealthy. There are more than twenty cities.

We read in Kuo K'an's biography: To the west of *Bao-da*, at a distance of 3000 *li*, there is (the country of) *T'ien fang*. The general, *Dju-shi*, there sent a letter (to Hulagu) in which he begged to offer his submission. All believed that his intention was sincere. His offer was accepted, and no precautionary measures were taken. But Kuo K'an made the following objection: Do not forget that treason on the part of the enemy can put our army in danger. In time of war all is deceit. We must take precautions, otherwise we risk bringing shame upon ourselves. Precautions were accordingly taken, and indeed Dju-shi came to attack our army; but he was defeated by Kuo K'an. *Ba-rh suan-t'an* (Sultan *Bar*) surrendered.[385]

To the west of T'ien fang is the kingdom of *Mi-si-rh*,[386] a very rich country. There is gold in the ground. In the night at some places a brightness can be seen. The people mark it with a feather and charcoal. When dig-

[383] *T'ien* fang means "Heavenly house." This term here seems to refer to the great mosque of Mecca, which encloses the holy *Kaaba*. Burckhardt in his "Travels in Arabia," p. 134, calls this great mosque *Beitullah*, or House of God. Mohammed, as is known, is buried in Medina. The Chinese mediæval authors apply generally the name of T'ien fang to the whole of Arabia.

[384] The Persian *peighember*, meaning "prophet."

[385] It is difficult to make these confused statements consistent with any of the military expeditions of the Mongols, as reported by the Mohammedan writers. Perhaps the war against *Nassir Salah-eddin Yussuf* in Syria is intended. Vassaf gives the text of two long letters Nassir exchanged with Hulagu before the hostilities began (d'Ohsson, iii. 294). Sultan *Bar* is perhaps the Emir *Beibars*, who commanded the Egyptian army, which entered Syria in 1260.

[386] Egypt, the *Mizraim* of the Bible. The Arabic name, *Misr*, denotes properly the capital of Egypt.

ging in the daytime pieces as large as a jujube are brought to light.[387] Mi-si-rh is 6000 *li* distant from Bao-da.

Kuo K'an's biography: *Mi-si-rh* is 4000 *li* distant from Tien fang, and west of it. Its ruler is called *K'o-nai suan-t'an*.[388]

West of Mi-si-rh is the sea, and west of the sea is the kingdom of *Fu-lang*. The covering of the head for women there resembles much what we see in our paintings representing the *P'u-sa*.[389] The men are dressed according to the custom of the *Hu* (western barbarians), and are of good character. When they go to bed, they do not take off their clothes.[390] Husband and wife live separately.

Biography of Kuo K'an: In the year 1258 (or beginning of 1259, see note 369) the prince *Hü-lie-wu* (Hulagu) ordered Kuo K'an to cross the sea on the west and subdue Fu-lang. He summoned the ruler to surrender. *Wu-du suan-t'an* said: "Last night I dreamed of a divine man. Now I see this divine man is the general." And he surrendered immediately. After this the imperial army returned.[391]

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[387] This sounds like the story reported by Strabo, chap. xvi. 198, who states: "The topazion found on the island of Ophiodes near Egypt is a gold-coloured diaphanous stone, which is of such a brightness that it cannot be seen in the daytime. It is only in the night that the gatherer can see it." According to Keferstein ("Mineralogia Polyglotta," 59, 60), the topazion of Strabo is not what we call topaz, but the *chlorophan*, a variety of fluor-spar, which exhibits a phosphorescent light when heated; and exposed to the sun in the daytime it emits light in the darkness. Diodorus Siculus and Pliny mention the same stone. The island where it is found is in the Upper Nile, and has been visited by modern travellers. The Chinese envoy, *Kan Ying*, who about A.D. 100 reached the Mediterranean Sea, reported that in the country of *Ta Ts'in* (the Roman empire) there is a gem emitting light in the night. Ch'ang Te, in stating the same about gold, had probably misunderstood the story he heard about shining stones.

[388] The character *nai* is probably a misprint for *to*, which is very like the former. Then the name of the Sultan would be *K'o-to*, and could be identified with Sultan *Kuttuz*, who at that time reigned in Egypt.

[389] *P'u-sa* (Bodhi-satva in Sanskrit) is one of the Buddhist saints, next to Buddha most venerated for his love and protection of living beings. His idol is represented in almost every Buddhist temple, often in the form of a female, and with curious ornaments, especially on the head.

[390] The Chinese are used to sleep in a nude condition.

[391] By *Fu-lang* doubtless the Franks are meant, the inhabitants of the western part of Europe. Since the beginning of the fifth century of our

There is (in Western Asia) a large bird, above ten feet high, with feet like a camel, and of bluish-grey colour. When it runs it flaps the wings. It eats fire, and its

era the Franks are frequently mentioned in the Byzantine annals, by which name the chroniclers always designate the nations of Latin and German origin. The old German tribe of the *Franks* first appears in Roman history under the reign of the Emperor Valerianus, A.D. 246–253. They then dwelt on the Lower Rhine, and afterwards gave rise to that powerful Franconian empire which, under Charles the Great, embraced a great part of Europe, and with which the history of France and Germany begins. In Du Cange's "Glossarium Mediæ et Infimæ Latinitatis," sub "Francia," we read: "Cum igitur tam late sese diffudisset Francorum nomen et virtus bellica et in exteras et remotas Europæ regiones sese propagasset eorum imperium, inde factum, ut Graeci non modo, sed etiam Saraceni, Arabes et Abyssini, Europeanos populos *Francorum* nomine donarint." Du Cange then quotes many passages from ancient writers about the meaning of the word Frank. There can be no doubt that the Persian *farang*, applied even now-a-days to all European nations, originated from our Franks. D'Herbelot, in his "Bibliothèque Orientale," observes that the Mohammedan writers applied the term *Farange* or *Afrange* (Arabic) to the whole of Europe, with the exception of *Rum* (the Byzantine or Greek empire, the *Fo-lin* of the Chinese authors). The Franks seem to have been unknown in Persia when the Sassanian dynasty reigned there (A.D. 226–652). In the "Shah-nameh" their name does not appear, whilst *Rum* is frequently mentioned there. Mas'udi, the well-known Arabic geographer and historian, is well informed regarding the Franks. The poet Saadi (beginning of the thirteenth century) was, it seems, the first Persian author who speaks of the Franks. As we learn from his "Gulistan," he was made prisoner by them in Tripoli. Compare about this term, used by the Mohammedans in the Middle Ages, Yule's "Cathay," 336. The mediæval traveller Marignolli states: "They term us Franks, not from France, but from Frankland."—*Ibid.*, 292. Pegolotti's "Notices of the Land Route to Cathay:" "They call Franks all the Christians of these parts from Romania westward." Romania, Rum of the Mohammedan authors, is the Greek or Byzantine empire.

The statement of our Chinese traveller, that a Mongol general should have crossed the sea and summoned the king of the Franks, is absurd. It is, however, a fact that the Mongols had some differences with the Franks established at Sidon, and Hulagu gave orders to expel the Franks from Syria.

In the Yüan shi, annals, *s. a.* 1341 or 1342, it is stated that the kingdom of *Fo-lang* sent as tribute a beautiful black horse, about eleven feet long and six feet eight inches high. It was black all over, except the feet, which were white. Colonel Yule has produced evidences ("Cathay," 340) that this horse spoken of in the Yüan annals was brought by Marignolli, who in his narrative states that he arrived at Peking in 1342, and brought great horses for the Khan.

In the first edition of my "Notes on Chinese Mediæval Travellers" I ventured to suggest that the name of *Fu-lin* or *Fu-lan*, applied in the

eggs are of the size of a *sheng* (a certain measure for grain).[392]

There is a kingdom, *Shi-lo-tze* (Shiras), which produces

T'ang history to a country in the far west, may also be intended to designate the Franks. But now a closer inquiry into the facts convinces me that this view is untenable. Fu-lin in the T'ang history—the name appears first in P'ei Kü's account of Western countries, beginning of the seventh century—denotes the Byzantine empire or Rum of the Mohammedan authors; not only the Asiatic part of it, as Dr. Hirth tries to prove in his very valuable book, "China and the Roman Orient." See also Colonel Yule's judicious investigations on the subject, "Cathay," lvii.

It is only once that the ancient name of *Fu-lin* occurs in the Yüan shi. In the biography of *Ai-sie* (perhaps Joshua or Joseph), Yüan shi, chap. cxxxiv., it is stated that his native country was *Fu-lin*. It is further said there that he was well versed in all languages of the West, and also in astronomy and medicine. He served at first Kuyuk Khan. Kubilai Khan entrusted him in 1263 with the direction of the astronomical and medical boards of the *Si yü* (Western Asia, Persia). Afterwards he received the title of *Fu-lin wang* (prince of Fu-lin). His sons and grandsons, as mentioned in the same biography, have all names which sound like names of Christians: *Ye-li-ya* (Elias), *Lu-ko* (Luke), *An-tun* (Antony). One of his daughters was called *A-na-si-mu-sz'*.

[392] The large bird with camel's feet is the ostrich, in Persian *shutur-murg* (camel-bird). The statement that when it runs it flaps its wings is quite correct. As is well known, the ostrich, notwithstanding its wings being well developed, is not able to fly, but when running rapidly it always extends its wings, which fact is also alluded to in Holy Scripture, Job xxxix. 18: "What time she lifteth up her wings (thus the correct English translation), she scorneth the horse and his rider." The ostrich, although found only in the desert of Africa and Western Asia, was known to the Chinese in early times, since their first intercourse with the countries of the far west. In the History of the Han (*T'sien Han shu*, chap. xcvi.) it is stated that the Emperor *Wu ti*, B.C. 140–186, first sent an embassy to *An-si*, a country of Western Asia, which, according to the description given of it, can only be identified with ancient *Parthia*, the empire of the dynasty of the Arsacides. In this country, the Chinese chronicler records, a large bird from eight to nine feet high is found, the feet, the breast, and the neck of which make it resemble the camel. It eats barley. The name of this bird is *ta ma tsio* (the bird of the great horse). It is further stated that subsequently the ruler of An si sent an embassy to the Chinese emperor, and brought as a present the eggs of this great bird. In the *Hou Han shu*, chap. cxviii., an embassy from An si is mentioned again in A.D. 101. They brought as presents a lion and a large bird. In the History of the *Wei* dynasty, A.D. 386–558, where for the first time the name of *Po-sz'* occurs, used to designate Persia, it is recorded that in that country there is a large bird resembling a camel and laying eggs of large size. It has wings and cannot fly far. It eats grass and flesh, and swallows men.

pearls. The name of the ruler is *Ao-sz' A-t'a-bei*. To the south-west is the sea (Persian Gulf). The men who are engaged in pearl-fishing get into a leather bag, having only their hands free. A rope is attached to their loins, and thus they glide down to the bottom of the sea. They take the pearl-oysters together with sand and mud, and put them in the bag. Sometimes they are attacked there below by sea-monsters, when they squirt vinegar against them and drive them away. When the bag has been filled up with oysters, they inform the men above by pulling the rope, and are then hoisted up. Sometimes it happens that the pearl-fishers die (in the sea).

The biography of Kuo K'an states: The imperial army (after returning from Egypt and Syria) went to the south-west (it is not clear from what place) to the kingdom of *Shi-lo-tze*. The enemy's

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In the History of the *T'ang* (618–907) the camel-bird is again mentioned as a bird of Persia. It is also stated there that the ruler of *T'u-huo-lo* (Tokharestan) sent a camel-bird to the Chinese emperor. The Chinese materia medica *Pen ts'ao kang mu*, written in the sixteenth century, gives (chap. xlix.) a good description of the ostrich, compiled from ancient authors. It is said, amongst other things, to eat copper, iron, stones, &c., and to have only two claws on its feet. Its legs are so strong that it can dangerously wound a man by jerking. It can run 300 *li* a day. Its native countries are *A-dan* (Aden), *Dju-bo* (on the Eastern African coast). A rude but tolerably exact drawing of the camel-bird in the Pen ts'ao proves that the ostrich was well known to the Chinese in ancient times, and that they paid great attention to it. In the History of the *Ming* dynasty, chap. cccxxvi., the country of *Hu-lu-mo-sz'* (Hormuz on the Persian Gulf) is mentioned as producing ostriches.

In a learned article on the geographical distribution of the ostrich by the well-known ornithologists Hartlaub and Finch (Peterm. "Geogr. Mitth.," xvi. 380), it is observed that in recent books of ornithology the ostrich is always spoken of only as a bird of Africa, whilst Xenophon saw it on the borders of the Euphrates; and ancient Persian authors as well as the Chinese mention it as a Persian bird, occurring even in the eastern part of Persia. The inquiries made on this subject by modern travellers have led to the interesting conclusion that up to the present time ostriches are met with, although not frequently, in Western Asia. The Prussian Consul at Damascus states that every year about 500 ostriches are killed in the deserts near that place. The well-known traveller, Vambery, informed the authors of the above-mentioned article that ostriches are well known in Kerman, and that they are also occasionally killed on the Lower Oxus, near Kungrat.

troops presented battle, but were defeated at the first attack. The Sultan, *Huan-sze-gan A-t'a-bei*, surrendered.[393]

The country of *Yin-du* (Hindustan) (amongst the enumerated kingdoms) is the nearest to China. The population of it is estimated at twelve millions of families. There are in that country famous medicines, great walnuts, precious stones, *ki she*,[394] *pin t'ie*,[395] and other products. In this kingdom there are large bells suspended near the palace of the ruler. People who have to prefer a complaint strike against the bell. Then their names are registered and their cause is investigated. The houses are made of reeds. As it is very hot there in summer, people pass the whole time in the water.[396]

[393] Shi-lo-tze seems to denote *Shiraz*, the capital of Fars. At the time the Mongol armies invaded Western Asia, Fars formed a little realm governed by *attabeys*, or ancient governors of the Seldjuks, who had become independent. The Chinese characters *a-t'a-bei* are doubtless intended for this name. When the Mongol armies appeared in Persia, the atabey of Fars, *Abubekr*, had spontaneously rendered homage to Chinghiz, and was not troubled in his possessions. His son, *Saad* II., was with the army of Hulagu. After his death *Mahomet* was elevated to the dignity of atabey, but he was dethroned by his brother *Seldjuk*. Hulagu sent a division to Shiraz to punish Seldjuk, who was killed. Then *Aish Khatun*, a princess of the dynasty of the atabeys of Fars, who had married the son of Hulagu, was put on the throne. See Malcolm's "History of Persia," i. 388–398, and d'Ohsson, iii. 400 *scqq*. What the Chinese author reports about pearl-fishing is quite exact, and sounds in some parts like a translation made from the statements of the ancient Arabic geographers regarding pearl-fishing in the Persian Gulf. Mas'udi, i. 328; Edrisi, i. 373, 374; Ibn Batuta, ii. 246. The island of *Baharein* is well known also in our days for the pearl-oyster beds in its neighbourhood, largely worked by the proprietors (Peterm. "Geogr. Mitth.," 1873, p. 37).

[394] *Ki she hiang* (chicken-tongue-fragrance), more commonly called *ting hiang* (nail-fragrance), are *cloves*, the dried aromatic flower-buds of *Caryophyllus aromaticus*.

[395] According to the *Pen ts'ao kang mu*, chap. viii. 36, article *t'ie*, iron, *pin t'ie* is a very fine steel, brought from *Po-sz'* (Persia), which makes very sharp swords. In the twelfth century *pin t'ie* was brought to China from the country of the *Ta-shi* (Arabs), who then ruled over the whole of Western Asia. This term answers, it seems, to M. Polo's "steel and ondanique," which, according to Yule's learned investigations ("M. Polo," i. 93), is the famous "Indian steel."

[396] The custom of lying in water is still common during great heats in Sind and Mekran. Yule's "M. Polo," i. 123.

The biographer of Kuo K'an is evidently mistaken in speaking, after noticing Shiraz, of a country *Pin t'ie*, which, as we have seen in the Si shi ki, is correctly mentioned among the products of India. In this biography it is clearly stated that the imperial army reached *Pin t'ie*. Kuo K'an defeated the enemy, and Sultan *Gia-ye* surrendered.

In the seventh month (July, August) of 1259, the Sultan *A-dsao* of the kingdom *Wu-lin* came to offer his submission. He surrendered 120 large and small cities with 70,000 families. In the mountains there much silver is found.

The biographer of Kuo K'an states regarding the same events as follows: In the year 1259, the scattered army of the kingdom of *Wu-lin*, amounting to 40,000 warriors, was defeated. The Sultan *A-bie ding*, surrendered, and 124 cities were captured.[397]

The kingdom of the *Hei K'i-tan* (Black K i-tan) is called *K'i-li-wan*. The name of the ruler is *Hu-kiao-ma-ding*. Having heard of the glory of the prince (Hulagu), he came to submit. He has a great city called *Ba-li-sz'*.[398]

The biography of Kuo K'an mentions also *K'i-li-wan*, and states that it is south of *Wu-lin*. The ruler is called *Hu-du-ma-ding*.

After this in the biography it is said that the *Si yü* (Western Asia) was subdued, and Kuo K'an went home to the Emperor Mangu, arriving there a short time before the latter died. Mangu Khan died in August 1259.

With Kerman, Ch'ang Te finishes his enumeration of

[397] I am not prepared to venture any identification with respect to the country *Wu-lin* and the name of its ruler as given by the Chinese authors.

[398] *K'i-li-wan* is, no doubt, *Kerman*. The Chinese character *wan* is easily misspelt for *man*. The Chinese author is right in calling Kerman the kingdom of the Black K'i-tan, or *Karakhitai* (*kara* = black in Mongol, as well as in the Turkish languages). This dynasty, originating in Eastern Asia (see note 22), reigned in Central and even Western Asia nearly a century, until it was overthrown by Chinghiz in 1218. When the latter had left Persia, *Borak Hadjib*, at first an officer of the Khan of Karakhitai, afterwards entering the service of the Sultan of Khovarezm, had succeeded in establishing himself in Kerman, and founded a dynasty which maintained itself there till 1309 (d'Ohsson, iii. 5–7). The Sultan *Hu-kiao-ma-ding*, or *Hu-du-ma-ding*, seems to be *Kotb-eddin*, who reigned about that time in Kerman, but he died in 1258 (d'Ohsson, iii. 133).

As to the city of *Ba-li-sz'*, it is probably *Bardasir*, called also *Kewashir* in ancient times the capital of Kerman. See Abulfeda, II. ii. 102; d'Ohsson, iii. 6.

the countries which had recently been invaded and conquered by the Mongol armies. The remainder of his report contains only an account of beasts, plants, precious stones, and other products found in western countries. He adds various miraculous tales which at that time seem to have circulated among the Persians.

The *shi-tze* (lion).[399] The mane and the tail of the male lion are like tassels. By a blow with the tail it can seri-

[399] The proper name of the lion in Chinese is *shi*. The character *tze*, in the popular spoken language, is often appended to words without having any signification. The lion, although an inhabitant only of Africa and Western Asia, was known to the Chinese in early times. It is first mentioned in Chinese books in the second century B.C. In the *Ts'ien Han shu*, chap. xcvi., it is stated that in the kingdom of *Wu-ko-shan-li* (the eastern part of Persia) the animal *shi* is found. The accounts of this and other western countries, as found in the History of the Early Han, had been gathered by the Chinese general *Chang K'ien*, who, about 128 B.C., visited Western Asia. Most probably the character *shi*, properly meaning "master," was intended to render the Persian name of the lion, which is *shir*. The character *shi* for lion, now used (with the radical "dog"), appears first in a Chinese dictionary of about the year A.D. 600. The *Hou Han shu*, chap. cxviii., reports that in A.D. 87 the ruler of *An-si* (ancient Parthia) sent a lion and an ostrich as presents to the Emperor of China. In A.D. 101 another lion was sent from there to China. In the History of the Northern Wei (386–558), where Persia is first described under the name of *Po-sz'*, lions are mentioned as beasts of that country. The History of the T ang speaks of a lion sent by the ruler of K'ang (Samarkand) to the Emperor of China in the seventh century. In the fifteenth century, during the Ming period, lions were repeatedly carried from Western Asia to China.

The lion enjoys still a great popularity in China, although now-a-days the Chinese know this beast only from ancient paintings, or from the grotesque ancient marble lions guarding the entrances of the palaces of the emperor or the princes. *Li Shi chen*, the author of the Chinese materia medica *Pen ts'ao kang mu*, who wrote in the second half of the sixteenth century, gives in chap. xli. some interesting accounts regarding the lion, which prove that this animal has made upon the Chinese the same lofty impression as upon Western nations, who in their popular traditions always consider the lion as the king of animals. Li Shi chen, in explaining the Chinese name of the lion, suggests that it was originally called *shi* (master), as being the king of animals. Its Sanscrit name is *seng gia* (singha). It is found in the Western countries. It resembles the tiger, but is smaller. The colour of its skin is yellow or like gold. The head is large and like copper, the forehead is like iron, the claws are like iron hooks, the teeth like a saw, the ears are pointed, the nose is turned up, the eyes shine like

ously hurt men. When it roars, the sound comes out from the belly. The horses hearing the roar are seized with great terror and urinate blood.

The wolves in those countries have also manes.[400]

The *k'ung ts'io* (peacocks) of the western countries are like the peacocks represented in our paintings, only they have the tail covered by the wings. But every day at noon the tail opens like a splendid green screen.[401]

There are also *hiang mao* (fragrant cats),[402] resembling

lightning. The roar of the lion resembles thunder. When the lion is enraged, it is imposing by its teeth ; when it is cheerful, it is imposing by its tail. The tail of the male lion has at its end a large tuft of hair. Its face is provided with whiskers. When the lion roars, all other beasts flee away and the horses urinate blood. A good drawing of the lion is found in the ancient Chinese dictionary *Rh ya*. The commentator of this dictionary, who wrote in the third century, tries to identify the lion (*shi*) with a beast *suan ni* mentioned in the Rh ya—a completely arbitrary identification. The drawings accompanying most of the editions of this dictionary date from the eleventh or twelfth century of our era.

The lion seems to have spread in ancient times over the whole of Western Asia, as far even as Transoxiana, and was also not uncommon in Greece. Alexander the Great is reported by Curtius to have killed a lion between the present Samarkand and Bokhara. We are told by the Persian authors that Hulagu, in 1256, arranged a lion-hunt near the Oxus, and that ten lions were killed. As far as I know at the present day of Western Asia, lions are found only in Southern Asia, especially near Shiraz.

[400] Perhaps the author speaks of hyenas.

[401] I have often seen the Chinese name of the peacock translated by "bird of Confucius." Indeed the character *k'ung* represents Confucius's name, and *ts'io* means bird. But the Chinese do not intend this meaning. *K'ung* means also great, excellent ; and in the days of Confucius the peacock was not known in China. It is first mentioned in the first century of our era in the *Hou Han shu*, chap. cxviii., amongst the animals found in *T'iao-chi* (Persia, Tadjiks). The Pen ts'ao kang mu, chap. xlix. fol. 17, gives *mo-yu-lo* as the Sanscrit name of this bird (its Sanscrit name is *mayura*, but in the Tamil language the peacock is *myloo* or *mail*, according to Balfour's "Cycl. of India"), and states that it occurs in *Kiao-chi* (Cochin-China). In China it has always been considered as a rare bird, and our traveller Ch'ang Te seems only to have seen paintings of it in China. Now Chinese mandarins wear peacock feathers on their caps as a mark of distinction, but the bird is not frequently met with. As is known, the native country of the peacock is India, also the Indian Archipelago.

[402] The author means doubtless the *civet cat*, which produces the perfume known under the name of civet, and highly prized by the Orientals. There are two species of *Viverra* yielding this perfume—*V. civetta* in

our *t'u pao*.[403] Their excrements and urine are fragrant like musk.

There are variegated parrots.

Feng t'o (wind-camels) are used for despatching couriers. They make a thousand *li* in one day.[404] But there are

Africa, and *V. zibetha* in Asia, especially in India, Arabia. Both are kept in a half-domesticated state for the purpose of yielding civet.

[403] In the mountains west of Peking this name is applied to *Felis microtis*, a wild cat.

[404] The *Pen ts'ao kang mu*, chap. l. fol. 83, writes the name *Feng kio t'o* (wind-footed camel), explaining that it means swift like the wind. The Chinese authors here mean the one-humped camel or *dromedary* (*Camelus dromedarius*). The latter name is derived from the Greek δρομὰς, ἄδος, swift. So Strabo terms the swift camels with which Alexander the Great pursued Darius, and afterwards Bessus, the murderer of the Persian king, to Bactria. The one-humped camel is a native of Africa and the south-western part of Asia, whilst the two-humped camel (*Camelus bactrianus*) is an inhabitant of Central Asia and Mongolia. In a wild state it is found in the deserts of Western Mongolia and Eastern Turkestan. It is remarkable that the existence of camels, and their usefulness as beasts of burden in different parts of the ancient world, depend upon certain climatic conditions which are diametrically opposite. The two-humped camel, inhabiting the vast plateau of Mongolia, where the winter is exceedingly cold, is not fit for supporting heat; but in winter it is qualified to bear extreme cold, snowstorms, and want of nourishment for a long time. In winter-time the Russian mail between Kiakhta and Peking can only be carried by camels through the Mongolian desert. The western camels, on the contrary, are beasts fit only for the hot, sandy deserts of Africa and Western Asia, where the temperature in winter does not attain low degrees, and is very sensitive to snow and cold. Numbers of camel skeletons can be seen on the roads crossing mountain ranges in Persia and covered with snow in winter-time. Both the one and the two humped camels, although confined originally to different parts of Asia, were known in early times to the Eastern as well as to the Western Asiatics. On the bas-reliefs of the ruins of Persepolis the two-humped camel is frequently represented. On the other side, it can be proved from the Chinese annals that the Chinese, acquainted from remote times with the camel of Mongolia, knew also dromedaries in the second century B.C. It was again the general Chang K'ien (see note 399) who brought the first accounts of the camels with one hump only, found in the country of the *Ta Yüe-ti* (Massagetæ), near the Oxus. Subsequently they are often mentioned in the dynastic histories, in the chapters treating of Western Asia. The two-humped (domestic) camel of Mongolia is larger and plumper-shaped than the dromedary, and cannot be trained for swift racing like the slender-shaped one-humped camel. Chardin, the well-known French traveller, who visited Persia about two hundred years ago, states that the camels in Persia, trained for the service of the couriers, are

pigeons which also transmit news to a distance of a thousand *li* in one day.[405]

Shan-hu (corals) grow in the south-western sea (Mediterranean). They are taken with iron nets. Some of them are three feet in height.[406]

The *lan-chi* is found in the rocks of the mountains in the south-western countries. There is also the *ya-sze*, of five different colours, which fetches a very high price.[407]

The *kin kang tsuan* (diamonds) come from *Yin-du* (Hin-

called *revahieh*, runners ; and adds that the same camels were known to the Hebrews under the name of *gemela fareka*, meaning "chameau volant." As regards wild camels, the Pen ts'ao kang mu quotes an author of the eleventh century, who states that they are met with only in the deserts north-west of China proper. Their existence there, even in our days, has been ascertained by Przewalsky.

[405] The conveyance of letters by means of pigeons is an Oriental invention. The Persian mediæval authors mention repeatedly carrier-pigeons used in Western Asia, even in time of war. In 1262, when the Mongols besieged the city of Mossul, a tired pigeon, destined for the besieged, sat down on one of the catapults of the Mongols, and was caught. It was found that the pigeon carried the news of the approach of an army sent to relieve Mossul. The Mongols had just time to send a corps against the enemy (d'Ohsson, iii. 372). Carrier-pigeons are known also in China.

[406] The *Pen ts'ao kang mu*, treating of the coral (chap. viii. fol. 53—it is ranged there among the precious stones) ventures no explanation of the name *shan hu*. It seems not to be a Chinese name. Corals are not found in China. I find them for the first time mentioned in Chinese books, end of the first century of our era. It is said in the *Hou Han shu*, chap. cxviii., to be a product of *Ta Ts'in* (the Roman empire). In the *T'ang shu*, or History of the T'ang, chap. cclviii.*b*, article *Fu lin* (the Byzantine empire ; see note 391), some accounts of coral-fishing are given in the following terms : "The coral tree grows in the sea on rocks like mushrooms. It is at first of a white colour ; after a year it changes to yellow, and in the third year it becomes red. The branches of it are much entangled. The coral tree, which attains a height of three or four feet, is fished up by iron nets, by means of which it is broken off from the rocks." This account dates from the seventh or eighth century. It is a short but quite correct description of coral-fishing as it is practised even in our days in the Mediterranean, the only sea where true red corals, *Corallium rubrum*, are found. The Pen ts'ao gives as the Sanscrit name of the coral, *bo-bai-so-fu-lo*. (There are two Sanscrit names for it, *prabâta* and *vidruma ;* the former is also used in Singhalese.) The red coral is highly valued in China.

[407] By *lan-ch'i* and *ya-sze* evidently foreign names of precious stones are rendered. The first name is perhaps intended for *ladjaverd*, the Persian name for *lapis lazuli*, and *ya-sze* seems to render the Arabic *yashm* or *yashb*,

dustan). The people take flesh and throw it into the great valleys (of the mountains). Then birds come and eat this flesh, after which diamonds are found in their excrements.[408]

The *sa-ba-rh*[409] is a product of the western sea. It is the essence of the tortoise-shell. The *kiao yü* (crocodiles)[410] eat the tortoises and then vomit. In a year the

our jasper, which is of various colours—yellow, red, green, black, brown. According to Emanuel ("Hist. of Prec. Stones," pp. 173, 174), it was most highly prized by the ancients. I have not seen jasper in China, but lapis lazuli is well known there. The Chinese call it *ts'ing kin* (azure gold). See also Appendix, article on "Precious Stones."

[408] This legend is very ancient. It is related by Sinbad the Sailor in the ninth century. He had heard of a valley of diamonds (in India), and of the stratagems adopted by the merchants to procure them. At the season when eagles breed in the surrounding mountains, they throw vast joints of meat in this inaccessible valley strewed with diamonds. The diamonds, on whose points the meat fell, would adhere to it. The eagles descend from their lofty station to convey the prey to their nests. The merchants appear at the proper time, and by extreme vociferation compel the eagles to drop these precious morsels, which commonly afford these adventurers an ample compensation for their labour (Major's "India in the Fifteenth Century," xxxvi.). M. Polo (ii. 348) relates the same story. His version is the same as that given by the Chinese author.

[409] The *sa-ba-rh* of the Chinese author is, it seems, *ambergris*, the *amber* of the Arabs, called also *sahabiri* (Crawford's "Dict. Ind. Islands," 11). It is highly valued in perfumery by the Orientals. I find in Ibn Baithar's "Materia Medica," translated by Sontheimer, ii. 210, the following notice about the origin of amber: "There is at the bottom of the sea some substance which the sea-beasts eat, and then vomit it; which is amber." The *Pen ts'ao*, chap. xliii. fol. 5, mentions ambergris under the name *lung sien hiang* (dragon's saliva perfume), and describes it as a sweet-scented product, which is obtained from the south-western sea. It is greasy, and at first yellowish white; when dry, it forms pieces of a yellowish black colour. In spring whole herds of dragons swim in that sea, and vomit it out. Others say that it is found in the belly of a large fish. This description also doubtless points to ambergris, which in reality is a pathological secretion of the intestines of the spermaceti whale (*Physeter macrocephalus*), a large cetaceous animal. The best ambergris is collected on the Arabian coast. In the Ming shi, chap. cccxxvi., *lung sien hiang* is mentioned as a product of *Bu-la-wa* (*Brava*, on the east coast of Africa), and *an-ba-rh* (evidently also ambergris) amongst the products of *Dsu-fa-rh* (*Dsahfar*, on the south coast of Arabia).

[410] In the *Pen ts'ao* the *kiao yü* is ranged among the scaly dragons. The character *kiao* is explained there by "crossed eyebrows." Evidently the two prominent bone ridges are meant, which stretch from the margin of

vomited substance hardens. (That is the *sa-ba-rh.*) The price of it equals that of gold. It is adulterated with rhinoceros excrements.

The *gu-du-si* is the horn of a large serpent. It has the property of neutralising poison.[411]

The *lung chung ma* (dragon-horses) are found in the western sea. They are provided with scales and horns. People do not allow mares with colts to graze near (the sea-shore). The colts are drawn into the sea, and do not come back.[412]

There is also a black eagle (*ts'ao tiao*). It lays only

the orbits to the nose of *Crocodilus biporcatus*. The author of the Pen ts'ao gives *gung-bi-lo* as the Sanscrit name of the kiao yü. Indeed, the crocodile in Sanscrit is *kumbhira*. See also Fauvel's interesting article on "Alligators in China" (Journ. N. China Br. As. Soc., xiii.).

[411] *Gu-du-si* (*gu* = bone, *du* = strong, *si* = rhinoceros). But these characters here are not to be translated, for they represent probably the foreign name of a medicine. For further particulars see *Pen ts'ao*, chap. xliii. fol. 40. The *Cho keng lu*, a work written in the fourteenth century, states also that the *gu-du-si* is the horn of a large serpent. We read in the "Mirabilia" of Friar Jordanus (first half of the fourteenth century) that India Tertia (Africa) is the country of rhinoceroses, civet-cats, *horned adders*, true negroes, ambergris, and zebras (Yule's "Cathay," 182). There is in Northern Africa a viper, *Cerastes cornutus*, horned viper, well known to the ancients, and remarkable for its fatal venom and for two little horns formed by the scales above the eyes. In China as well as in India the people from time immemorial attribute also anti-poisonous virtues to the rhinoceros horn. The ancient materia medica attributed to Emperor *Shen nung*, B.C. 2700, states that the horn of the rhinoceros "cures the hundred poisons." The rhinoceros and goblets made from the rhinoceros horn are repeatedly mentioned in the Chinese classics, and even at the present day the latter can be purchased everywhere in China, as in the days of Confucius. Compare about rhinoceros horns, Büsching's "Asien," ii. 838.

[412] The Chinese author had probably heard of the large cetaceous animal *dugong*, which is described in zoology under the name of *Halicore cetacea*. This beast is found in the Indian Ocean and also in the Red Sea and the Persian Gulf, and frequents the shallow sea and the coasts, where it feeds on the submarine sea-grass pastures. According to Büsching, "Asien," ii. 836, the dugong is called *Kadelkudira* or sea-horse by the Tamulians. The word dugong is a corruption from the Malay *duyong*. The dugong has given rise, in ancient times, to many miraculous legends circulating among the Arabs and Persians. We ought not to wonder, when the Chinese author attributes to it horns and scales, according to Chinese views, indispensable decorations for a marvellous animal.

three eggs in one brood. From one of these eggs a dog comes out; it is of a grey colour and short-haired. It follows the shadow of its mother (when she flies). In hunting game it is always successful.

The *lung chung yang* (literally, "sheep planted on hillocks") are also produced in the western countries. The people take the navel of a sheep, plant it in the ground and water it. When it hears thunder it grows, the navel retaining a connection with the ground. After the beast has become full grown they take a stick and frighten it. Then the navel breaks off and the sheep begins to walk and eats grass. In autumn it can be eaten. The flesh of the navel (of the butchered sheep) can be planted again.[413]

[413] It is not difficult to divine that this miraculous story of a lamb which grows like a plant is nothing other than the reproduction of the mediæval legend of the lamb-plant, Tartarian lamb, *Agnus scythicus*. Friar Odoric, in the fourteenth century, was the first European traveller who referred to this story (Yule's "Cathay," 144), but it must have been current much earlier in Western countries, for the Chinese authors mention it in the ninth century. In the *T'ang shu*, chap. cclviii. *b*, article *Fu-lin* (Byzantine empire), I find the following account: "There are in the country of Fu-lin sheep which grow from the ground. The people wait till they shoot out, and then surround (the plant or beast) with a wall, to protect it against wild beasts. If the umbilical cord connecting the lamb with the ground is cut off, it will die. (There is another method to keep it living.) A man duly caparisoned mounts a horse and rushes upon the lamb. At the same time a great noise is made to frighten it. Then the lamb cries, the umbilical cord breaks off, and it goes to graze." According to Odoric's report, these lambs are found in large melons. *Hieron. Cardanus*, and after him *J. C. Scaliger* (both in the first half of the sixteenth century), in their account of this miraculous lamb, state that the *Agnus scythicus* is found in the lands of the noble Tartar horde called *Zavolha* (meaning beyond the Wolga, for *za* in Russian = beyond). The seed is like that of a melon, but the plant, which is called *barometz*, or "the lamb" (*baran* = sheep in Russian), grows to the height of about three feet in the form of that animal, with feet, hoofs, ears, &c., complete, only having in lieu of horns two curly locks of hair. If wounded, it bleeds; wolves are greedily fond of it. In 1725 Dr. Breyn of Dantzig first declared that the pretended Agnus scythicus was nothing more that the root of a large fern covered with its natural yellow down, and accompanied by some of the stems, &c., in order, when placed in an inverted position, the better to represent the appearance of the legs and horns of a quadruped. Linnæus in 1752 received a fern from Southern China, gathered by Osbeck, and did not hesitate in declaring it to be the Agnus scythicus, and to name it *Polypodium Barometz*. Loureiro

There is a woman in those western countries who understands the language of the horses, and can predict (in this way) good and evil.

Many other marvellous things are seen there, but all cannot be reported.

Ch'ang Te's journey to the western countries and back had taken *eleven* months (the Hai kuo t'u chi has *fourteen* months).

Here the report of Ch'ang Te's journey concludes. *Liu Yu*, the author of the Si Shi Ki, adds the following remarks:—

The *Si yü* (the countries in the west) was first opened (for China) by the general *Chang K'ien* (see note 74). Those countries, their mountains and rivers, have up to our days been the same; but as those times belong to remote antiquity, the names of the countries have changed, and it is difficult to inquire into their political changes. What at the present day is called *Han hai* was in ancient time *Kin shan*.[414] The *Yin-du* of our day is the same as *Shen-du* of the Han dynasty.[415] The camel-bird (now found in western countries) is the *ta ma tsio* of the kingdom of *An-si* (see note 392). *Mi-si-rh* is the same as the kingdom

("Fl. Cochin.," 675) found the same plant in Cochin-China and China. He gives *keu tsie* as the Chinese name (*i.e.*, *kou ts'i*, dog's back, from the resemblance of the rhizoma of the plant to a dog, as the Chinese botanical works state). Modern botanists called the plant *Cibotium Barometz*. It is a tropical plant, found in South China, Assam, and on the Sandwich Islands. Nowhere in the books at my disposal can I find mention of it near the Wolga. The English Cyclopædia (quoted by Yule), in assigning to this plant an elevated salt plain to the west of the Wolga, derived its information, it seems, only from Scaliger's conjecture. How then can Th. Moore state in the "Treasury of Botany" that the Agnus scythicus is without doubt the Cibotium Barometz? Mediæval travellers as well as the Chinese annals agree in assigning to this marvellous plant-animal the countries of Western Asia or Eastern Europe.

[414] The Chinese author is wrong. *Han hai* and *Kin shan* (the Altai) are not the same. See note 9.

[415] The general Chang K'ien brought the first information about *Shen-tu*.

Fu-lin, mentioned in the time of T'ang.[416] This can be proved by comparing the products, customs, &c., of the respective countries (as mentioned in different times). For instance, the T'ang shu states that *Fu lin* is 40,000 *li* distant from the (Chinese) capital; that it is situated on the borders of the sea, and that it is rich in rare and precious products. All agree well with the recent statements (about *Mi-si-rh*), and there can be no doubt as to the identity.

Written by *Liu Yu*, in the third month of the year 1263.

[416] The Chinese author is again mistaken.

V.

THE PEREGRINATIONS OF YE-LÜ HI LIANG IN CENTRAL ASIA, A.D. 1260–1263.

(Translated from his biography in the Yüan shi, chap. clxxx.)

YE-LÜ HI LIANG was the great-grandson of *Ye-lü Ch'u tsai*, Chinghiz Khan's and Ogotai's minister, and the author of the *Si yu lu*, translated in the first section of this part of my Researches.

The name of Hi liang's father was *Chu*. Hi liang was born near *Ho-lin* (Karakorum; see note 304). Father and son were both distinguished scholars, and held offices under *Hien tsung* (Mangu Khan). In the year 1258, when the emperor encamped near the mountain *Liu p'an shan*,[417] Hi liang was with him; and when Mangu subsequently

[417] This mountain has still the same name. On modern Chinese maps it is marked south of the city of *Ku yüan chou*, department of *P'ing liang*, in *Kan su*. According to the Chinese annals, *T'ung kien kang mu*, Chinghiz died near the Liu p'an shan in 1227, after having subdued the Tangut empire. The Yüan shi, however, implies that he died in Northern Mongolia. We read there, in the annals, *s. a.* 1227, that in the fifth intercalary month the emperor moved to the mountain *Liu p'an shan* in order to avoid the heat of the summer. In the sixth month the empire of the *Hia* (Tangut) submitted. Chinghiz rested on the river *Si kiang* in the district of *Ts'ing shui* (in Kansu; it has still the same name). In autumn, in the seventh month (August), on the day *jen wu*, the emperor fell ill, and eight days later died in his palace *Ha-lao-t'u* on the river *Sa-li*. This river Sali is repeatedly mentioned in the Yüan shi, viz., in the first chapter, in connection with the first military doings of Chinghiz. Rashid reports (d'Ohsson, i. 58) that Chinghiz in 1199 retired to his residence *Sari kihar*. The Yüan ch'ao pi shi (Palladius' transl., 81) writes the same name *Saari keher* (*keher* in modern Mongol means "a plain"). On the ancient map of Mongolia found in the Yüan shi lei pien, *Sa-li K'ie-rh* is marked south of

directed his host southward, Hi liang and his father accompanied him. In the year 1259 the emperor died in *Shu*,[418] when Hi liang with the heavy baggage (of the army) proceeded northward to the province of *Shen si*. In the next year, 1260, *Shi tsu* (Kubilai Khan) was elected emperor, when *A-li-bu-ko*[419] revolted (against his brother). Kubilai sent to *Hun-du-hai*[420] to require him to appear.

the river *Wa-nan* (the *Onon* of our maps), and close to *Sa-li k'ie-rh* we read, "Here was the original abode of the Yüan" (Mongols). Thus it seems the passage in the Yüan history translated above intimates that Chinghiz died in Mongolia, and not near the Liu p'an shan, as is generally believed. The Yüan ch'ao pi shi (Pall. transl., 152) and the Ts'in cheng lu (Pall. transl., 195) both agree in stating that, after subduing the Tangut empire, Chinghiz returned home, and then died. Colonel Yule in his "M. Polo," i. 240, states "that Rashid calls the place of Chinghiz' death *Leung shan*, which appears to be the mountain range still so called in the heart of Shensi." I am not aware from what translation of Rashid Yule's statement is derived, but d'Ohsson, i. 375, note, seems to quote the same passage in translating from Rashid: "Liu-pan-shan was situated on the frontiers of the *Churche* (empire of the *Kin*), *Nangias* (empire of the *Sung*), and *Tangut*;" which statement is quite correct.

In 1258, when Mangu Khan waged war with the Sung, and commanded his host in person, he had for a time established his head-quarters in the mountains of *Liu p'an shan* (Yüan shi, *s. a.*), and then proceeded to the province of Sze ch'uan, where he died.

[418] *Shu* is the ancient name for what is now called the Chinese province of *Sze ch'uan*. There are some discrepancies in the reports of the Western and Eastern chroniclers respecting the death of Mangu. The Chinese annals T'ung kien kang mu record that he died in the seventh month (end of July or August) of 1259, before the walls of *Ho chou*, a city of Sze ch'uan (30° 8′ N. lat.), which had been besieged without success for several months. The Yüan shi gives the 13th of the seventh month (August 3), 1259, as the date of Mangu's death, and states that he died, after an illness of several weeks, near the mountain *Tiao yü shan* (in the vicinity of Hochou). Abulfaragius makes him die by an arrow-shot. Haithon says that he was drowned, while Rashid tells us that he died from dysentery.

[419] *Arikbuga* was the youngest brother of Mangu and Kubilai. When Mangu set out for China in 1257, he left Arikbuga in command of Karakorum with *Alemdar* as his coadjutor. After Mangu's death and the election of Kubilai, Arikbuga laid claim to the supreme khanship. D'Ohsson, ii. 324, 346.

[420] After the death of Mangu, the general *Kondukai* was left at the head of the Mongol troops near Liu p'an shan. He embraced the cause of Arikbuga. D'Ohsson, ii. 346.

Chu (the father of Hi liang) tried to persuade him and the other officers, but Hun-du-hai refused. *Chu* thereupon left his wife and his sons, and made haste to Kubilai to offer his service. Hun-du-hai then became enraged, and sent a hundred horsemen in pursuit, but they could not catch him. Hun-du-hai then arrested Hi liang, his mother, and his son, and forced them to accompany him. They started from *Ling wu*,[421] passed through *Ying-ghi-li*[422] and *Si liang*,[423] and arrived at *Kan chou* (the present *Kan chou fu*).

Meanwhile *A-lan-da-rh*, the commander-in-chief of *A-li-bu-ko's* troops,[424] marched out from *Ho-lin* (Karakorum) to effect his junction with *Hun-du-hai*, and arrived at the mountain *Yen-chi-shan*.[425] When he saw Hi liang, he inquired about his father. Hi liang answered that he knew nothing about him, and that if he could have known where he was fleeing to, he would have been with him. Some while after they met the imperial army (of Kubilai), and A-lan-da-rh and Hun-du-hai were both defeated and killed. The remains of their troops went to the north, where they rallied under the command of *Ha-la-bu-hua*.[426] Hi liang succeeded in escaping and hid himself in the *Sha t'o*,[427] north of Kan chou and east of *Hei shui*.[428] Ha-la-bu-hua passed there with his army without detecting Hi

[421] A city situated near the present *Ling chou*, south-east of Ning hia fu in Kan su. I may notice that the identifications of this place, as well as of the ancient names of cities, mountains, and rivers which follow, are borrowed from the great geography Ta Ts'ing I t'ung chi.

[422] The present *Ning hia chung wei*, 37° 40′ N. lat.

[423] The present *Liang chou fu*.

[424] *Alemdar*. See note 419. D'Ohsson, ii. 346.

[425] This mountain, situated south-east of Kan chou fu, in the district of Shan tan hien, is already mentioned in the Chinese annals as early as the first century of our era, in connection with the wars with the *Hiung nu* in Mongolia.

[426] *Karabuka*, one of Arikbuga's generals. See note 442.

[427] The sandy desert. See note 112.

[428] *Hei shui* (Black water) is still the Chinese name of a river east of Su chou fu. The Mongols call it *Etsina*. Compare M. Polo, i. 225. City of *Etzina*.

liang; but some time after, when some straggling soldiers arrived looking for horses, an old woman betrayed his retreat, and he was then arrested and brought to *Su chou* (now *Su chou fu*), to the commander-in-chief. Ha-la-bu-hua was related to Hi liang's father; they had served together in the last campaign in Shu (Sze ch'uan); and it had once happened that Ha-la-bu-hua fell ill, when Chu sent him a physician and supplied him with meat and wine. In grateful remembrance of these things, Ha-la-bu-hua released Hi liang, saying: "Your father did me friendly service; I am happy to repay it now in granting you your freedom."

Hi liang then proceeded to *Sha chou pei ch'uan.*[429] He was obliged to travel on foot with his brothers; and they carried their own baggage, without eating cooked food for many days. It being then winter-time, they had to walk through the snow. After crossing the *T'ien shan* (Celestial Mountains), Hi liang arrived at *Pei t'ing tu hu fu.*[430]

In 1261 they arrived at the city of *Djang-ba-li.*[431] In the summer they crossed the river *Ma-na-sz'*,[432] and finally reached *Ye-mi-li.*[433] This city was the capital of the appanage given to *Ting tsung* (Kuyuk Khan, Mangu's predecessor) when he was heir-apparent.[434] At that time the younger sister of the sixth empress was queen-regent (in that country).[435] She and the prince *Ho-hu*[436] were desirous

[429] This name can be translated "the northern river of Sha chou." But perhaps two places are meant, *Sha chou* (the well-known city west of Kan chou fu) and *Pei ch'uan.*

[430] The same as *Bishbalik;* see note 157. Hi liang went, it seems, from Sha chou through the desert to Hami, and then by Karakhodjo, and across the T'ien shan to Bishbalik.

[431] About this city, mentioned in Ch'ang ch'un's itinerary, see note 162.

[432] *Manass* is still the name of a city in Dsungaria. It lies on the great road from Urumtsi along the northern slope of the T'ien shan to the Sairam lake and Kuldja, and on a river of the same name.

[433] The city of *Emil.* See note 313.

[434] Rashid-eddin reports also that Emil was Kuyuk's appanage. He had received it from his father, Ogotai (d'Ohsson, ii. 2, 195, 234).

[435] The sixth wife (widow) of Kuyuk is probably meant.

[436] Ho-hu was the third and youngest son of Kuyuk Khan. See Yüan shi, chap. cvii., genealogical tables.

of presenting themselves to the emperor (Kubilai). Hi liang's mother, who was well aware of their situation, was desirous that her son should see the queen-regent, but it was not possible. In the same year, in winter, Hi liang proceeded to the country of *Huo-bu.*[437]

In 1262, the *Ta ming wang*, Ting tsung's (Kuyuk's) youngest son,[438] who commiserated Hi liang in his misfortune, in that he was unable to return home, made him a present of silk stuffs and a saddled horse. Hi liang accompanied the prince to the country of *Hu-dji-rh.*[439]

At that time it happened that the prince *A-lu-hu* [440] gave orders to kill the officers appointed by *A-li-bu-ko*, and was desirous of submitting to the emperor (Kubilai). Hi liang joined the two princes A-lu-hu and Ta ming wang, who returned to *Ye-mi-li.* The Ta ming wang offered to Hi liang a present of pendants, consisting of two pearls as large as hazel-nuts and worth a thousand *liang*, wishing that he might wear them in his ears. But Hi liang declined to receive the present, saying that he dared not injure the body received from his father and mother, and that besides this he had no merits. The prince then unfastened his own girdle, richly adorned with

[437] In the Yüan shi, chap. ii., it is stated that after Chinghiz died, Ogotai came from the country of *Ho-bo* to attend the funeral. This is probably the same as *Huo-bu.*

[438] Prince of *Ta ming.* The latter is the name of a department in the province of Chili. According to the Yüan shi, annals, *s. a.* 1236, Ta ming was given as an appanage to Kuyuk. Thus the Ta ming wang here mentioned must have been one of Kuyuk's sons.

[439] In the biography of Su-bu-tai (see note 303) a similar name of a place or country is mentioned. It is stated there that this general, after finishing the campaign in the west, went home by the way of *Ye-mi-li* (Emil) and *Ho-dji.*

[440] After the death of *Kara Holagu*, grandson of Chagatai, his widow, *Organa*, was for eight years (1252–60) regent of the middle empire, and resided in Almalik. She was dethroned by Arikbuga, who set upon the throne of Chagatai another of his grandsons named *Algu.* Subsequently this latter, having heard of the defeat of Arikbuga by Kubilai's troops, declared himself for Kubilai, and ordered the three commissaries sent by Arikbuga to be put to death. Arikbuga then marched against Algu. D'Ohsson, ii. 350 *seqq.*

gold, and gave it to Hi liang, saying: "I hope this present will not injure your body."

In the fifth month (1262) they met the army of A-li-bu-ko, and were forced to retreat westward for 1500 *li*. They reached the country *Bu-lie-sa-li*, and in the sixth month the country of *Huan-dja-sun*. They passed through the city of *Bu-la*,[441] and proceeding westward for 600 *li*, arrived at the mountain *Ch'e-ch'e-li-tse-la*. The queen-regent and the heavy baggage were left behind. Hi liang's mother and brothers also remained there. Hi liang departed alone on horseback, and after riding more than 200 *li*, reached the city of *Ch'u-bu-rh*, and 100 *li* farther on arrived at the city of *Ye-li-k'ien*, where he met the host of *Ha-la-bu-hua* (Karabuka; see note 426). He then again joined the two princes, who had rallied their forces, and returned to the city of *Bu-la*, where a battle was fought with *Ha-la-bu-hua*, who was defeated and lost his life. His head was then packed up and sent by a courier to the emperor (Kubilai).[442]

In the eleventh month they went to the country of *Yü-yi-sze-kuan*, and in the year 1263 reached *K'o-shi-ha-li* (Kashgar?). In the fourth month they were again attacked by the host of Ha-la-bu-hua near the city of *Hun-ba-sheng*.[443] At that time the mother of Hi liang was still

[441] *Pulad* of the Mohammedan authors. See note 16.

[442] This statement about the battle at *Bu-la* agrees in a general way with the records of the Mohammedan authors respecting the struggle between Arikbuga and Algu. It is reported there (d'Ohsson, ii. 353; Quatremère's "Hist. des Mongols," 146), that Arikbuga, to punish the treason of Algu, marched against him, and his avant-guard, commanded by *Karabuka*, met the troops of the Prince Algu near the city of *Pulad* and the lake *Sut* (Lake Sairam; see note 476). A battle was fought there, and Karabuka was defeated and killed.

[443] The Mohammedan annals report further (see note 442) that Algu, after defeating Karabuka, returned to his residence on the bank of the river *Ili* and disbanded his troops. But suddenly *Assutai*, another general of Arikbuga, having passed the defile called *Timur-kahlakah* (Iron gate, Talki pass; see note 317), appeared on the river Ili, captured Almalik, and forced Algu to retire towards *Khotan* and *Kashgar*, and finally *Samarkand*. Arikbuga, who had joined Assutai, took possession

with the queen-regent, who spent the summer in the mountains of *A-t'i-ba-sheng.*[444]

Meanwhile *Chu* (the father of Hi liang) had put the emperor in mind of his son being still in the countries of the north-western frontier, whereupon the emperor sent written orders to the two princes to despatch Hi liang as a courier. In the sixth month the latter passed through the city of *K'u-sien,*[445] reached *Ha-la-huo-djo*[446] and *Yi chou,*[447] crossed the *ta mo* (great desert), and in the eighth month presented himself to the emperor in *Shang tu,*[448] and reported on the state of things at the frontier.

of the country of Almalik. I cannot identify the names of places mentioned in the Chinese report in connection with this campaign.

[444] Perhaps the same as *A-t'e-ba-shi*, marked on the Chinese mediæval map, north-west of Kashgar. There is still a river *Atapasha*, a southern tributary of the *Naryn* or Upper Syr-daria.

[445] Perhaps *Kucha* in Eastern Turkestan.

[446] *Karakhodjo;* see note 13.

[447] *Hami;* see note 13.

[448] Kubilai's summer residence in Southern Mongolia.

APPENDIX I.

THE JOURNEY OF HAITHON, KING OF LITTLE ARMENIA, TO MONGOLIA AND BACK, A.D. 1254–1255.

It may not be out of place to review here, in completion of my notes on Chinese mediæval travellers, this interesting narrative, to which frequent reference has been made in these pages. It mentions also many of the places marked on the Chinese mediæval map of Central and Western Asia, upon which I shall comment in another part of my Mediæval Researches.

The account of Haithon's journey was originally written in Armenian by *Kirakos Gandsaketsi*,[449] who belonged to the suite of King Haithon (Klaproth). A manuscript copy of it, dated 1616, was found in the monastery of Sanahin in Southern Georgia, and was translated into Russian by the Armenian Prince Argutinsky, and published in the Russian periodical "*Sibirsky Westnik*," 1822, p. 69, *seqq.* *Klaproth* translated it from the Russian version into French. See "Nouv. Journ. Asiat.," xii. (1833), 273.

In 1870 M. *Brosset* translated into French all the writings left by Kirakos, and also Haithon's journey ("Mémoires de l'Académie des Sc. de St. Pétersb."). The same Armenian author was translated into Russian by Professor *Patkanoff* in 1874. For the English version of the narrative here given, I have of course compared all the translations just mentioned.

Haithon I. (or *Hethum*, as the name is written in the Armenian manuscript), son of Constantine Rupen, became

[449] He was a native of *Gandsak*, the present Elisavetpol (Patkanoff).

king by his marriage with Isabella, daughter and only child of Leon II., king of Little Armenia (Cilicia). Haithon ascended the throne in 1224, abdicated in 1269 in favour of his son, Leon III., and then became a monk.[450] He died in 1271. The narrative of his journey is entitled:—

JOURNEY OF HETHUM, THE PIOUS KING OF THE ARMENIANS, TO BATU AND MANGU KHANS, IN 703 AND 704 (OF THE ARMENIAN ERA), A.D. 1254–1255.

The pious friend of Christ, Hethum, king of Armenia, who resided in the city of *Sis* in *Cilicia*, had sent his brother, *Sempad*, commander-in-chief of his troops, to *Giug* Khan (*Kuyuk*), with presents. Sempad returned from the court of the Khan, where he had been well received, bringing letters from the monarch.[451]

After Mangu Khan's accession, the great *basiliopator* and general, *Batu*, who had established himself in the north, on the borders of a large river called *Ethil*,[452] which falls into the Caspian Sea, sent to King Hethum ordering him to come and proceed to the court of Mangu Khan.

[450] King *Haithon* I. is not to be confounded with his kinsman, *Haithon*, prince of *Gorhigos*, who also became a monk, and spent the latter part of his life in a monastery in Poitiers, in France. He is the author of a History (and Geography) of the Eastern Kingdoms, written in 1307 by *Nicolas Falcon* in French, from the dictation of Haithon (Bergeron's "Voyages en Asie"). Falcon afterwards translated this account into Latin ("Historia Orientalis"). Falcon's original French manuscript, which bears the title "Merveilles des XIII. Royaulmes d'Aise," was published in 1877 by *L. de Backer* in his "Extrême Orient au Moyen-age." But Backer is egregiously mistaken in asserting (p. 22) that this Haithon, prince of Gorhigos, was the same as Kirakos, who wrote the account of King Haithon's journey to Mongolia. According to Patkanoff, Kirakos states that he was born in 1201. It is also ascertained that he died in 1272.

[451] According to Brosset, Sempad left his native country in 1248, and returned home in 1250 in the company of the son of Gaïat-eddin, Sultan of Rum. We possess a letter from Sempad, written on the journey. See Yule's "Cathay," cxxvii.

[452] The *Volga* river, called amongst all the nations of Asia *Etil*, *Etel*, or *Edzil*.

Hethum, who feared him, departed secretly and in disguise, for he had to pass through the dominions of the *Turks*, governed by the Sultan of *Rum*, who hated Hethum on account of succour he had received from the *Tatars*. The name of the Sultan was *Aghadin*.[453] He rapidly traversed the territory of the Sultan, and in twelve days reached the city of *Kars*,[454] where he presented himself to *Bachu noyan*,[455] the commander-in-chief of the Tatar army in the East. He visited also other great personages, by whom he was entertained with honour. After this he halted in the district of *Aragatsotn*,[456] in front of Mount *Arai*, in the village *Vardenis*, in the house of a prince called *Kurd*. This prince, who was an Armenian, was a Christian, as well as his sons, *Vache* and *Hassan*. His wife, *Khorishah*, was of the race of the *Mamikonians*, daughter of *Marzpan*, and sister of *Aslanbek* and *Gregory*.

Hethum remained in this place until they had brought him the wealth of his palace, which was requisite for the presents he had to make, and which was forwarded to him by his father, the prince of princes, *Constantine*, who then was an old man, and by his sons, *Leo* and *Thorose*, whom he had entrusted with the government during his absence, his wife, the pious *Zabel*, being dead. The name of Zabel is the same as *Elizabeth*, namely, "the week of God;" and, conformably to the true interpretation of her name, she reposed on the will of God. This princess, the daughter of the great king *Levan* (Leo), the first that was crowned, was kind, indulgent, and a friend of the needy.

[453] Patkanoff reads *Ala-eddin*. But the diarist means probably *Yzz-eddin* or *Rokn-eddin*, the sons of *Ghiath-eddin* (+1245), who at the time here spoken of disputed about the possession of the throne of Rum. They had a younger brother, *Ala-eddin*, whom they had dispatched to the Great Khan, and who died on the way thither (d'Ohsson iii. 92 *seqq.*).

[454] This city of Armenia now belongs to Russia.

[455] This Mongol general, who then devastated the western part of Persia, is frequently spoken of by the Mohammedan authors. In 1246 the Pope sent the Friar Anselm with a letter to *Baidju* (d'Ohsson, ii. 221, iii. 79).

[456] According to Klaproth's investigations, near the celebrated convent *Echmiadzin*, in the vicinity of Mount Ararat.

When the great patriarch, *Constantine*, learned that the king had passed without accident, and was in Great Armenia, he despatched to him the vartaped *Jacob*, a wise and eloquent man, whom he had sent formerly to *John*, the king of the Greeks, who possessed Asia, to form a contract of friendship and alliance. The lord *Ter-Stephen*, bishop, and the vartabed *Mikhitar* of the monastery of *Skevra*, went there likewise. The priest *Basil*, who was sent from Batu; *Thorose*, a regular priest, who had come with him; *Karapet*, priest of the king's palace, a gentle and well-informed man. All these and many princes came and accompanied the king through the country of the *Aghovans*[457] and the gate of *Derbend*,[458] which is the same as the fortress *Chor*. They visited *Batu* and his son *Sartakh*,[459] who was a Christian, and were overwhelmed with honour by them. Hethum was then sent by them to Mangu Khan, by a very long road, beyond the Caspian Sea.

They set off on the 13th May 1254. After passing the river *Ayekh*,[460] they arrived at *Or*,[461] which is half way between Batu and Mangu Khan (*i.e.*, between their respective residences). Thence they proceeded to the river *Ertich* (Irtysh), entered the country of *Naiman*,[462] and then arrived at *Khara Khetai*.[463]

[457] Patkanoff identifies this name with *Albania* of Ptolemy and Strabo (or *Shirvan*). Compare also Rubruk, 266, *Albania*.

[458] In the ancient wall which runs from the castle of Derbend on the Caspian Sea along the ridges of Caucasus.

[459] *Batu*, grandson of Chinghiz. He conquered Russia, and established his chief residence at *Sarai*, on the banks of the Akhtuba branch of the Volga. *Sartakh*, the second son of Batu, is mentioned also by Rubruk (253, 375). Bar Hebræus informs us that he loved the Christian religion, that he was baptized, learned to read, and became a deacon. After the death of his father in 1255, he set off from the Volga and went to Mangu Khan in order to obtain the investiture of Kipchak, but he died on the way (Klaproth). The Yüan shi writes his name *Sa-li-ta*.

[460] The *Iaik* of the Middle Ages is the *Ural* river of our maps.

[461] Perhaps the *Organum* of Rubruk, the present province of Ili. See note 285.

[462] The tribe of the *Naiman*. See note 98.

[463] *Karakhitai*. See note 22.

On the 13th of September Hethum reached *Tataristan* (Mongolia);[464] and on the day of the consecration of the cross (September 14) had an audience with Mangu Khan, the splendid and glorious lord. He offered presents to him, and was honoured by the Khan according to his rank. The king remained fifty days in the ordo.[465] Mangu Khan had given to him a diploma, attested by a seal, to prevent any one troubling either him or his country. He received likewise a letter of enfranchisement of the churches throughout the country.

The king departed on the 1st of November. In thirty days he arrived at *Gumagur* (or *Gumsgur*),[466] went on to *Berbaligh*, and then to *Beshbaligh*.[467] After this they went through a desert country inhabited by naked wild men with horse-hair on their heads. The breasts of the females were extremely large and pendant. These people have no language.[468] There are also wild horses of yellow and black colour.[469] The (wild) mules are of white and black colour, and larger than common horses and donkeys.[470]

[464] Rubruk in his narrative states (p. 373) that on his way back from Mongolia in 1254, when he was at a distance of twenty days' journey from Karakorum, he met Sartakh (see note 459), who, with his herds, wives, and children, went to Mangu Khan. He heard that the king of Armenia went in advance, and had passed about the end of August.

[465] Mangu Khan then was probably in Karakorum or somewhere near it.

[466] A place unknown to me. Haithon most probably went by the same way as Ye-lü Ch'u ts'ai and Ch'ang ch'un.

[467] *Bishbalik*. See note 157.

[468] The story of wild men in the Dsungarian desert seems to have been current in the Middle Ages. Carpini's report on the subject (648, 649) reads as follows: "Prope civitatem *Omyl* (Emil; see note 313) ad meridiem est quoddam desertum magnum, in quo sylvestres homines pro certo habitare dicuntur, qui nullo modo loquuntur, nec in cruribus habent juncturas; et si quando cadunt, per se surgere sine aliorum adjutorio minime possunt; sed tantam discretionem habent quod faciunt filtra de lana camelorum, quibus vestiuntur, et ponunt etiam contra ventum; et si aliqui Tartari vadunt ad eos et vulnerant eos sagittis, ponunt gramina in vulneribus et fortiter fugiunt ante eos."

[469] Przewalsky, as he relates in his "Tibet" (41 *seqq.*), saw wild horses in the Dsungarian desert. Some of them were piebald.

[470] The Chinese call wild mules the *djigetai*, *Equus hemionus* of the Mongolian desert. It is about the size of a mule and of a yellowish colour.

Wild camels, with two humps, are seen there likewise.[471]

From there they came to *Arlekh, Kuluk, Enkakh, Djambalekh,*[472] *Khutapai,*[473] *Ankibalekh.*[474] They then entered *Turkestan,* and arrived at *Yekoprak, Dinkabalekh, Pulad,*[475] passed *Sutkol,* or the sea of milk,[476] and came to *Aloalekh*[477] and *Ilan balekh.*[478] They passed the river *Ilan su,*[479] crossed a branch of the *Thoros* mountains,[480] and arrived at *Talas,*[481] where they saw *Hulavu,* the brother of Mangu Khan, who had received the East for his allotment of territory.[482]

Thence they proceeded in a north-westerly direction, passing through *Khutukhchikhan, Berkiand, Sugulkhan, Urusogan, Kaikiand, Khuzak* or *Kamots, Khendakhuir,* and

[471] Wild camels, with two humps, are likewise noticed by Przewalsky, *l. c.*, 43, as inhabiting the Dsungarian desert.

[472] This is the *Chang-ba-la* in Ch'ang ch'un's itinerary. See note 162. Haithon, on his way back, evidently went by the same way as Ch'ang ch'un and Ye-lü Ch'u ts'ai.

[473] A place *Gu-t'a-ba* is marked on the Chinese mediæval map west of Djambalik. It is probably the same as *Khutukbai* of our maps, which is the name of a place north-west of Urumtsi, on the great way to Kuldja.

[474] On the Chinese mediæval map a place *Yang-gi-ba-li* appears west of *Gu-t'a-ba* (Khutapai of Haithon).

[475] Regarding *Pulad,* see note 16.

[476] The name *Sutkul* and the appellation "sea of milk" have been satisfactorily explained by Klaproth. In the Kirghiz language, *sutkul* even now means "lake of milk;" and this name is applied by the Kirghizes to Lake *Sairam* of our maps, situated in the mountains north of Kuldja. Sairam, or, as Klaproth writes, *Sairim* or *Chagan Sairim nor* (the white lake of tranquillity), is its Mongol name. See also note 167.

[477] This is evidently a corruption of *Almalik,* which city was situated near present Kuldja. See note 19.

[478] This seems to be the same as *I-li-ba-li* of the Chinese mediæval map, marked there south-west of *A-li-ma-li.*

[479] *Su* or *ussu* means "river" in Mongol. By *Ilan su* evidently the *Ili* river is meant.

[480] Here probably the *Alatau* is meant, the high mountain chain which stretches from east to west, north of Lake Issikul. The traveller proceeding from Kuldja to Tashkend has to cross a branch of the Alatau in the *Kastek* pass. See notes 185, 325.

[481] Regarding the city of *Talas,* which was situated near present Aulieata, see note 23.

[482] By "East" here Western Asia, *i.e.*, the Orient in our sense, is meant. See p. 115, Hulagu's sojourn in Turkestan in 1254 and 1255.

Segnakh, where there is the mountain *Kharchuk*, whence came the Seldjuks. It commences from the *Thoros* mountain and runs on to *Parchin*,[483] where it ends. They went (turned aside) to meet *Sartakh*, the son of Batu, who was on his way to Mangu Khan,[484] and then proceeded to *Sengakh*[485] and *Savran*,[486] which is a very large city; after which they passed through *Kharachuk*, *Ason*, *Sori* (or *Savri*), *Otrar*, *Zurnukh*, and arrived at *Dizak*.[487]

[483] Of the greater part of the above names I can make nothing. They may refer to obscure places not mentioned by other mediæval authors. *Segnakh* is noticed by Rashid. When Chinghiz had reached *Otrar* in 1219, he divided his army into four corps, one of which, under the command of his son Djuchi, was sent along the Sihun downward. The first city the Mongols captured on this way was *Signac*. See d'Ohsson, i. 221. According to Lerch ("Archæological Journey to Turkestan"), the ruins of this city are found forty-two *versts* south-east of Fort Djulek (on the Syr-daria), and distant eighteen *versts* from that river. These ruins are called *Sunak-kurgan*. See also the great Russian map of Turkestan.

The mountain *Kharchuk*, which commences from the *Thoros* and runs to *Parchin*, is without doubt the mountain chain which stretches in a north-western direction between the rivers Talas and Syr-daria, and appears on modern maps as *Karatau*. The Thoros of the Armenian diarist is the Alatau and its western continuation, the Alexander's chain.

After Signac, Djuchi took, as the Mohammedan historians report, *Barkhalighkend* (d'Ohsson, i. 222). This is the same as *Ba-rh-ch'i-li-han* of the Chinese mediæval map, the *Ba-rh-djen* of the Yüan shi, the *Barchin* of Pl. Carpini (750), and the *Parchin* in Haithon's itinerary.

[484] It is difficult to reconcile this statement with Rubruk's report that he met Sartakh, about six months earlier, on his way to Mangu, twenty days' journey from Karakorum. See note 464.

[485] Klaproth takes *Sengakh* and the afore-mentioned *Segnakh* to be the same, and he seems to be right. Haithon from Signac turned aside to visit Sartakh, and then returned to Signac.

[486] According to Lerch (*l. c.*), who visited in 1867 the ruins of ancient *Sauram* or *Sabran*, they are situated fifty *versts* north-west of the city of Turkestan, on the post-road to Fort Perovsky. Edrisi and Yakut mention Sabran, as do also the historians of the time of Timur.

[487] Lerch is of opinion that *Ason* is the same as *Yassi*, which in the fourteenth and sixteenth centuries was the name of the modern city of *Turkestan*. It is mentioned by the historians of Timur and by Mirkhond. Sherif-eddin as well as Abd-er-Razzak notice a place called *Kharachuk* between *Yassi* and *Sabran*. This agrees with Haithon's itinerary. On the great Russian map of Turkestan a river *Karachik* appears west of Turkestan. It discharges into the Syr-daria.

On the great Russian map of Turkestan the ruins of *Otrar* are marked

From Dizak they reached in thirty days *Samarkand*.[488] Next they came to *Saripul*, *Kerman*, and *Bokara*,[489] and crossed farther on the great river *Djeihun*.[490] Then they went to *Mermn*, *Saraskh*, and *Tus*, which is before you get to *Khorassan*,[491] called also *Rogastan*. After that they entered *Mazanderan*, passed through *Bestan*, and then the country of *Erak*, on the frontier of *Mulhed*, came to *Damgan*, and reached the great city of *Rei*.[492]

Thence they reached *Khazvin*, *Avkher*, *Zanghian*, *Miana*. From here in twelve days they arrived at *Tavrej*.[493] After twenty-six days more, and having passed the river *Eraskh* (Araxes), they arrived at *Sisian*, the residence of *Bachu nuyen*, the general of the Tatar army.[494] The latter sent

about six English miles north-east of the mouth of the *Arys*, an eastern affluent of the Syr-daria, and at a distance of about fifty miles south-east of Sauram. Lerch visited these ruins. See note 27.

A place *Zurnuk* is mentioned by the Mohammedan mediæval authors. Chinghiz, after the capture of Otrar, besieged *Zernuk*; took it, and then proceeded to Bokhara (d'Ohsson), i. 227. Yakut states that this place was situated beyond Khodjend in Turkestan, but its actual position is not ascertained.

Dizak in Haithon's itinerary is the city of *Djisak* of modern maps about sixty-six English miles north-east of Samarkand.

[488] There is evidently a mistake in the figure.

[489] Patkanoff observes that *Saripul* is on the Zarafshan river; but I cannot find this place on the map of Turkestan.

Kerman is the city of *Kermineh*, situated on the road from Samarkand to Bokhara.

[490] They crossed the Djeihun or Amu-daria probably at *Amol* (called also *Amuyeh*), which was somewhere near the present *Chardjui*.

[491] Mermen is *Merv-Shahdjan*. *Serakhs* and *Tus*, two well-known cities in Khorassan.

[492] From Merv, Haithon's itinerary presents no difficulty whatever, and we may trace it on our maps of Asia. The country of *Erak*, on the frontier of *Mulhed* (*Mulahida*, Ismaëlians; see note 289), is *Irak Adjemi*, the largest province of *Persia*. With respect to *Rei*, see note 293.

[493] *Kazvin*, *Abhar*, *Zendjan*, *Miane*, *Tavris*, well known cities of Northern Persia.

[494] Compare note 455. The Friar Anselm and his companions, sent by the Pope with a letter to *Baidju*, arrived at the camp of this general, which was near the castle of *Sitiens*, in 1247. This latter name is probably identical with *Sisian* in Haithon's itinerary. According to Patkanoff, this place lies between the Gokcha lake and the Araxes.

Hethum to *Khoja nuyen*, whom he had left in command of the army in his stead, and went himself, taking the principal part of his troops, to meet *Hulavu*, brother of Mangu Khan, who had come from the east.

At length the pious king Hethum reached the house of Prince *Kurd*, in the village *Vardenis*, where he had left his officers and his baggage. He there waited the return of the priest Basil, whom he had again sent to Batu, to communicate to him the letters and order of Mangu Khan, and to cause him to issue orders conformably to their tenour.

I omit the rest of the narrative, which presents no geographical interest.

Eight months after quitting the court of Mangu Khan, Haithon arrived in the country of the Armenians. This was in 1255 (end of July).

APPENDIX II.

A CHINESE MEDIÆVAL ACCOUNT OF WESTERN PRECIOUS STONES.

In the *Cho keng lu*, notes on different matters referring to the time of the Mongol dynasty, written by a learned Chinese in the fourteenth century, an article is found (chap. vii.) entitled *Hui-hui shi t'ou* ("Precious Stones of the Mohammedans"). This notice reads as follows:—

The precious stones in the countries of the Mohammedans vary in appearance and in price. Towards the end of the reign of Kubilai Khan (end of the thirteenth century), one of the rich Mohammedan merchants sold a red *la* (balas ruby) to the emperor. It weighed one *liang* and three *ts'ien*, and was estimated at 140,000 *ting*, paid in bank-notes.[495] The emperor placed it on the top of his cap, and thus it was afterwards successively transmitted from one emperor to another. The emperors always put it on at the new year, on their birthdays, and on other solemn occasions. The following are the precious stones I (*i.e.*, the Chinese author) know, and I shall give a list of them:—

1. Red stones, of which there are four kinds.

The *la*. When of a pale red colour it is very beautiful.[496]

[495] One *liang* = ten *ts'ien* = $1\frac{1}{3}$ oz. avoird. One *ting* at the time of Kubilai Khan was fifty *liang* silver—*not*, as Pauthier erroneously states (M. Polo, 320), *ten liang*. But the paper money was worth only a tenth of its nominal value.

[496] *La* denotes *lal*, which is the Persian name for the *balas ruby*, which is of a rose-red colour. See Keferstein's "Mineralogia Polyglotta," 1849, p. 20, and Emanuel's "History of Precious Stones," 1867, p. 220. Now-a days the name for ruby in China is *hung pao shi* (red precious stone).

The *bi-djc-da*. The stones which are of a deep red colour and thin are the most valuable.[497]

The *si-la-ni* is of a dark red colour.[498]

The *gu-mu-lan* has an irregular colour; it is red mixed with dark, yellow. This stone is found in large pieces, and is the least valuable of the above mentioned.[499]

2. Green stones. There are three kinds found together in the same mines.

The *dju-ba-bi* takes the first rank. It is of a deep green colour.[500]

The *dju-mu-la* is of medium quality.[501]

The *sa-bu-ni*, which is of a pale green, belongs to a lower class.[502]

3. The stones called *ya-hu* or *ya-gu*.[503]

The red *ya-gu* has on the surface a white water.[504]

The *ma-sze-gen-di*. Without lustre. A variegated stone. This stone and the red *ya-gu* are dug from the same mines.[505]

There are three kinds of blue *ya-gu*, viz.:—

[497] According to Keferstein, p. 23, the Persians call *bidjade* a red precious stone of India. He believes it to be the *garnet*.

[498] *Si-la-ni* means probably "from Ceylon." It is known that very fine rubies and other precious stones come from that island.

[499] I do not know what red stone is meant by *gu-mu-lan*. Keferstein, p. 68, gives *kumala* as the Malayan name of a precious stone of extraordinary beauty. Perhaps *opal*.

[500] The green stones of the Chinese author are without doubt *emeralds*, and the names given to them can easily be recognised as Arabic and Persian names for different varieties of this stone. See Keferstein, *l. c.*, 43. The name *dsobab*, meaning "cantharides," flies with beautiful green wings, was applied by the Arabs to a first-quality emerald of a deep green colour.

[501] This name is probably intended for *zmerud* or *samurod*, general names for emerald in Persian and Arabic. Even now the emerald in Peking bears a similar name, being called *dsü-mu-lu*. But it is also known under the name of *lü pao shi* (green precious stone).

[502] *Sabuni*, meaning "soap-green," is the Persian name of an inferior kind of emerald of a pale colour.

[503] In Arabic and Persian the name *yakut* is applied to what we call *ruby* and *corundum* (Keferstein, 11, 28). The Mohammedan authors distinguish red, blue, yellow, white yakuts.

[504] This is a ruby.

[505] I cannot find in Keferstein a name sounding like this.

First quality, of a deep blue colour.[506]

The *ni-lan*, medium quality, of a pale blue colour.[507]

The *wu-p'o ni-lan*, lower quality, of a muddy blue colour.

The yellow *ya-gu*.[508]

The white *ya-gu*.[509]

4. Stones belonging to the category *mao-tsing*.[510]

The (true) *mao-tsing* has a fibre of lustre in the interior.

The *tsou shui shi* when dug from the mines resembles the *mao-tsing*.[511]

5. Stones called *tien-tze*.[512]

The *ni-she-bu-di* (*i.e.*, from *ni-she-bu* or Nishapur). This is the species found in the country of the Mohammedans. It is distinguished by its fine structure.[513]

[506] This is what we call *sapphire* or blue *corundum*. Now-a-days in China it is called *lan pao shi* (blue precious stone).

[507] The name *nilan* is applied in Hindustan to the blue sapphire.

[508] The yellow corundum or sapphire, known to jewellers under the name of *Oriental topaz* (Keferstein, 17).

[509] This is what we call the white sapphire (Keferstein, 17).

[510] *Mao tsing* means "cat's-pupil," and denotes the same stone as known to us under the name of *cat's-eye*. Now-a-days the Chinese call it *mao yen* (cat's-eye). The Chinese as well as Europeans derived these names from the peculiar lustre of the stone, resembling, when held towards the light the contracted pupil of the eye of a cat.

[511] This name means "stone with walking water" (undulating lustre). The stone may be identified with the *chrysoberyl* or *cymophane*. The latter name means in Greek "floating light."

[512] In the *Pen ts'ao kang mu*, chap. viii. fol. 55, article *Pao shi* (precious stones), it is stated that the stone called *tien tze* is of a greenish blue (*pi*) colour, and that at the time of the T'ang dynasty it was known under the name of *se-se*. See note 378. I have little doubt that by *tien tze* (the first character means properly indigo) the Chinese mediæval authors understood the *turquoise*, the Persian name of which is *firuze*. Now very miserable Chinese turquoises of a greenish blue colour are sold at Peking under the name of *sung rh shi* (pine-stone).

[513] It is known that the beautiful blue stone which we call turquoise is dug near *Nishapur*. The *Juaher nameh*, a MS. treatise on precious stones, quoted by Ouseley ("Travels in Persia," i. 211), mentions four places in Asia where turquoises are found, viz., Nishapur, Shebavek in Kirman, a mountain in Adjerbeidjan, and Khodjend. M. Polo, i. 91, 93, states that the kingdom of *Kerman* produces the stones called turquoises. Barbosa, in 1510, states that the true turquoises are found in *Nixxer* (Nishapur) and *Quirimane*, country of Sheikh Ismail (Stanley's transl., p. 216).

The *k'i-li-ma-ni* (*i.e.*, from Kirman). It is also called *Ho si tien tze* (*tien tze* from Ho si),[514] and has a coarse structure.

The stone of *King chou*, called also *tien tze* from *Siang yang*.[515] It changes its colour.

China, and especially the capital, is very rich in precious stones, but as very few kinds of them are produced in this country, it is evident that they have been brought from abroad; and I suppose most of the beautiful rubies, sapphires, emeralds, &c., sold in Peking, and emanating for the greater part from the establishments of impoverished princes and nobles, came to China in early times, and especially at the time Western Asia was devastated and plundered by the Mongols.

[514] *Ho si* (west of the Yellow River) is a Chinese mediæval name for the Tangut country.

[515] *King chou* is the ancient name of a Chinese province. It answers to parts of the provinces of Hu nan and Hu pei. The department of *Siang yang* is in Hu pei. It is true that the turquoise sometimes changes its colour. Pumpelly ("Geol. Researches in China, Mongolia, Japan," 118) notices the existence of *sung ur shi*, a mineral similar to turquoise, in the province of Yün nan.

Part II.

NOTICES OF THE MEDIÆVAL GEOGRAPHY AND HISTORY OF CENTRAL AND WESTERN ASIA.

Drawn from Chinese and Mongol Writings, and compared with the Observations of Western Authors in the Middle Ages.

In this second part of my researches, I wish to render accessible to European scholars interested in the mediæval history and geography of Asia some accounts found in ancient Chinese and Mongol works, and referring to the days of Mongol supremacy in Asia. As I have access to many special sources of information with respect to Eastern Asiatic literature, I have been enabled to gather a considerable amount of material, not previously published, bearing on the history and the geographical knowledge of that period. These Eastern sources of information will generally prove to be meagre and fragmentary, and sometimes they only become intelligible when compared with the detailed records left behind by the Arabic and Persian chroniclers; but they have nevertheless a considerable interest, and we shall see that much fresh light is derived from Chinese and Mongol writers, in corroboration of the statements of European mediæval travellers across the Asiatic continent, and in elucidating dubious questions with respect to Asiatic history and geography. It is now a rule adopted for all branches of knowledge that in scientific researches the leading idea must be to bring to light the truth. With respect to some sciences—as, for instance, geography—this aim can be obtained with more or less completeness by means of direct observations. But as to history, and especially history of remote times, we depend entirely upon the statements and views of ancient chroniclers, whose style is often far from being clear, whilst the veracity of their reports is not always to be relied on. The same must be said with respect to ancient geographical accounts and narratives of travels. For researches in these departments it is therefore of great importance to com-

pare the statements of several contemporaneous authors who have written on the same subject. Judging from this point of view, it seems to me that the ancient historical and geographical accounts of the Chinese, as far as they treat of nations, countries, and events spoken of also by Western writers, present a high interest; all the more so when we have to compare statements on the same subject of nations so diametrically different in their mode of viewing things.

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTICES.

It has appeared desirable to put at the head of this essay a critical review of the works from which the information dealt with in these pages has been derived. I may begin with the Chinese and Mongol literature.

Among the Chinese works extant treating of the history and geography of Asia in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, the *Yüan shi* or Chinese History of the Mongol dynasty without doubt takes the first rank. It is only to be regretted that the work has been compiled with great carelessness by the Chinese scholars of the Ming dynasty who had been entrusted with this task. In the annals of the *Ming shi* or History of the Ming, *sub anno* 1369 (a year after the expulsion of the Mongols from China), we find the following statement with respect to the compilation of the Yüan shi:—

"In this year the detailed records of the reigns of the thirteen Yüan emperors were procured, and the emperor (Hung wu) gave orders to compile the history of the Yüan, under the direction of *Sung Lien* and *Wang Wei*. The work, which occupied sixteen scholars, was begun in the second month of 1369, and finished in the eighth month of the same year. But as at that time the record of the reign of Shun ti (the last Mongol emperor in China) was not yet received, the scholar *Ou yang Yu* and others were

sent to *Pei p'ing*[516] to obtain the required information. In the sixth month of 1370 the Yüan shi was complete."

A new edition of the Yüan history was published during the reign of Kia tsing (1522–67). The edition to which my frequent quotations from the Yüan shi always refer bears the date of 1603. There were several other editions of the work issued under the Ming.

As far as I know, three editions of the Yüan shi have been published under the present dynasty—one in 1659, another about the middle of the last century, and the third in the present century. I may venture a few remarks with respect to the second one, which is an unhappy revision of the former editions.

A learned committee, consisting of Chinese, Manchus, Mongols, Western Mohammedans, &c., was appointed by the Emperor *K'ien lung* (1736–96) to revise the Yüan shi, and especially the foreign names of men, places, &c., occurring so frequently in that work. These *savants*, in their reformatory zeal, proceeded on the idea that all the proper names had been incorrectly rendered in the official documents of the Mongols, and had to be changed. They pronounced the same verdict with respect to the histories of the *Liao* and the *Kin*. Thus in the new editions of the histories of the *Liao*, *Kin*, and *Yüan*, all the original proper names without exception disappeared, and were replaced by names of a new invention, which generally have little resemblance to the original. By this way of corrupting the names in the original histories, which have generally rendered foreign names as correctly as the Chinese language permits, the K'ien lung editions of these works have become completely unserviceable for historical and geographical investigations. K'ien lung was very proud of the happy idea of metamorphosing the

[516] *Pei p'ing* was the name of the present Peking in the beginning of the Ming. It seems the committee entrusted with the compilation of the Yüan history was in session at *Nan king*, which at that time was the capital of the Ming.

ancient proper names, and issued an edict that in future no Chinese scholar should dare to use the ancient names.

When the three histories had been corrupted, K'ien lung ordered the same committee to explain the meanings of the new names; and this gave rise to a new work entitled *Liao Kin Yüan shi yü kiai*, or explanation of words (proper names) found in the histories of the Liao, Kin, and Yüan. In this vocabulary, all the names of men, countries, places, mountains, rivers, &c., in the three histories have been systematically arranged, but according to the new spelling. The original spelling of the name, however, is always given, and the chapters are indicated where the name occurs. This renders the vocabulary very useful for reference, and we may lay aside the fact that the principal object in view of the learned committee was the absurd explanation of the meaning of the newly-invented names. I may give a few examples of the sagacity these *savants* displayed in their etymological commentaries. In the original edition of the Yüan shi the title of the Calif of Bagdad is quite correctly rendered by *Ha-li-fa*. The committee changed *Ha-li-fa* into *farkha*, and explains that it means a village in Manchu. By *Bie-shi-ba-li* in the uncorrupted Yüan shi, *Bishbalik* is to be understood. The meaning of this name in the Turkish languages is "five cities," and the Chinese term *Wu ch'eng*, meaning also "five cities," occurs repeatedly in the Yüan shi as a synonym of *Bie-shi-ba-li*. The committee, however, transformed the name into *Ba-shi-bo-li*, and states that *bashi* in the language of the Mohammedans means "head," and *boli* "kidneys."

The river *Kerulun* in Northern Mongolia, and not at all far from Peking, was termed *K'ie-lu-lien* in the original Yüan shi; but the committee found this name dissonant, and invented the more euphonic name *Gė-lu-rh* for this river. None of the ancient proper names in the Yüan shi found mercy with the severe critics. This may serve as an example of what the Chinese of the last century mean by scientific research.

The most recent edition of the Yüan shi (also with corrupted proper names) is dated 1824, but it was only finished in 1848. The numerous translations from the Mongol history found in Pauthier's "Marco Polo" have all been made from this corrupted text. At the time Rémusat and Klaproth wrote, the Yüan shi was unknown in Europe, and it seems that even the old Catholic missionaries in Peking had not seen it. The old sinologues knew only an extract of the great Mongol history (see farther on).

The Yüan shi has been compiled from official documents. Perhaps we must except the biographies, for which the information was probably often derived from private sources. It seems that the greater part of the documents on which the Chinese history of the Mongols is based had been drawn up in the Chinese language; but in some cases they appear to have been translated from the Mongol. I conclude this from the fact that in the Yüan shi places are often mentioned, not, as usually, by their Chinese names, but by their Mongol names represented in Chinese characters. I may quote a few instances, and select such topics as will at the same time serve to corroborate the statements of Marco Polo and Rashid-eddin who, as is known, generally mentioned places and countries of Eastern Asia by their Mongol names.

The province of *Yün nan*, in the south-western part of China proper, bears this name in the annals of the Yüan shi (as in our days), and in the geographical part of it we find it mentioned as one of the twelve provinces of China. But M. Polo and Rashid always term this province *Carajang* (M. Polo, ii. 36; d'Ohsson, ii. 639), probably a local name adopted by the Mongols. Polo and Rashid both state that the capital of this province is called *Yachi*, which latter place Klaproth tries to identify with *Wei ch'u*, Pauthier with *Li kiang fu*. Rashid states further (Quatremère, "Histoire des Mongols," pref.) that some of the inhabitants of Carajang are white, and these are called

Chagan jang by the Mongols. These names do not appear in the Chinese annals, nor in the description of Yün nan in the Yüan shi (geogr. part). In the latter account *Cara jang* and *Chagan jang* are rendered by *Wu man* and *Po man* (Black and White Barbarians). But in the biographies of *Djao-a-k'o-p'an*, *A-r-szelan* (Yüan shi, chap. cxxiii.), and others, these tribes are mentioned under the names of *Ha-la-djang* and *Ch'a-han-djang*, as the Mongols used to call them; and in the biography of *Wu-liang-ho t'ai* (see note 303), the conqueror of Yün nan, it is stated that the capital of the Black Barbarians was called *Ya-ch'i*. It is described there as a city surrounded by lakes from three sides.

In the annals of the Yüan shi, the tribe of the *Onguts*, so called by Rashid—Polo styles them *Ung* (i. 276)—is mentioned under its Chinese name *Po Ta-ta* (White Tatars), whilst in the biographies it is termed *Wang-gu*, sometimes *Yung-gu*. There can be no doubt about the identity of the *Po Ta-ta* and the *Wang-gu*. In the biography of *A-la-wu-sze T'i-gi Hu-li* (chap. cxviii.), it is stated that he was the chief of the tribe of Wang-gu. Chinghiz bestowed one of his daughters on A-la-wu-sze's son as wife.[517] But in the annals of the Yüan shi, *s. a.* 1203, the same A-la-wu-sze is spoken of as the chief of the *Po Ta-ta*, who surrendered to Chinghiz.

Si Hia (Western Hia) or *Ho si* (west of the Yellow River) was the Chinese name of the *Tangut* empire. In the annals of the Yüan shi it is always designated by these names, but in the biographies this kingdom and the people are generally called by their Mongol name, *i.e.*, *Tang-wu*. This name occurs frequently there. A number of valiant warriors in the Mongol army were of Tangut origin. M. Polo, i. 206, describes the great province of Tangut.[518]

[517] Rashid calls this chief of the Onguts *Alakush Tikin kuri*, stating that *Tikin kuri* is a title (d'Ohsson, i. 84).

[518] The country of the Tanguts was known to the Mongols also under

The name for the *Yellow River* in the Yüan shi is generally *Ho*.[519] The Mongols called it, and call it even now, *Kara muren*, or the Black River. In the narratives of M. Polo and other mediæval travellers, and in Rashid's records, the river appears likewise under the name of *Kara muren*. In one instance this Mongol name is applied to the Yellow River also in the Yüan shi, and written there *Ha-la mu-lien* (chap. c., imperial pasture lands).

The Yüan shi comprises 210 chapters in four sections.

The first section, *Pen ki* (47 chapters), contains the biographies of the thirteen Mongol emperors in Mongolia and China, and the historical records (annals) of their reigns, beginning with *Chinghiz* and ending with *Shun ti*, who was overthrown by the Ming in 1368. The first chapter treats first of the history of the Mongols before Chinghiz, and then records the doings of the reign of the great conqueror. The second chapter comprises the reign of *Ogotai* and *Kuyuk*, and the third that of *Mangu*. The next fourteen chapters (4–17) are devoted to *Kubilai Khan*. The remainder of the annals continues the history of the Mongol empire in China to the fall of the dynasty.

The second section, *Chi*, memoirs, chap. 48–105.

Chap. 48, 49. *T'ien wen*, astronomy,[520] 50, 51, *Wu hing*, elemental influences. There remarkable atmospheric and other phenomena are recorded.

the name of *Kashi* or *Koshi* (d'Ohsson i. 95). Klaproth ("Nouveau Journ. Asiat.," xi. 464) translates a passage from Rashid, in which it is said that the country of the Tanguts is called also *Hoa si*, which means "west of the great river" in the language of the Katayans.

[519] *Ho*, meaning simply "the river," is the name by which the Yellow River is designated in the most ancient Chinese topography, found in the chapter *Yü kung* of the *Shu king*. The name *Huang ho*, or Yellow River, appears first in the *T'ai p'ing huan yü ki*, a description of the Chinese empire, end of the tenth century.

[520] In chapter xlviii. an interesting account of the astronomical instruments placed in 1279 on the observatory of *Ta tu* (Peking) is given. A. Wylie has translated this notice in his article on the Mongol astronomical instruments. Two of these instruments are still extant, and Wylie gives a photograph of them.

Chap. 52–57. *Li*, mathematical chronology and calendar.

Chap. 58–63. *Ti li*, geography of the empire, an enumeration of the provinces, departments, districts, &c., of China proper, a part of Mongolia, and even Manchuria and Corea, accompanied occasionally by some statistical and historical notes.[521] After this, chapter 63 contains also a dissertation on the sources of the *Yellow River*, *Ho yüan*, an enumeration of countries and places in Central and Western Asia, *Si pei ti* (countries in the north-west), and an interesting account of the *K'i-li-gi-sz'* or *Kirghizes*. The chapter concludes with an enumeration of the cities of *Annan* (now Tung king) and some neighbouring countries.

Chap. 64–66. *Ho kü*, rivers and canals of China.

Chap. 67–71. *Li yo*, rites and music.

Chap. 72–77. *Tsi sze*, sacrifices.

Chap. 78–80. *Yü fu*, regulations on chariots and official dress.

Chap. 81–84. *Süan kü*, regulations on appointments to office.

Chap. 85–92. *Po kuan*, government offices.

Chap. 93–97. *Shi hua*, political economy. The following matters are treated of under this head:—

Chap. 93. *King li*, general regulations. *Nung sang*, agriculture and sericulture. *Shui liang*, customs regulations. *K'o ch'ai*, socage regulations. *Sze k'o*, furnishing raw silk and other materials. *Pao yin*, regulations regarding silver. *Hai yün*, regulations on transport by sea. *Ch'ao fa*, paper money.

Chap. 94. *Sui k'o*, levying of annual taxes. *Yen fa*, salt regulations. *Tsiu ts'u fa*, taxes on wine, vinegar, &c. *Ch'a fa*, tea regulations. *Shang shui*, mercantile dues regulations. *Shi po*, maritime trade regulations.[522] *O wai k'o*, extraordinary taxes.

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[521] A detailed description of the Mongol empire had been compiled under the Yüan dynasty with the title of *Yüan I t'ung chi*. This work seems to have now disappeared. I have only met with quotations from it in other Chinese works.

[522] It is stated in this article, amongst other things, that in 1277 a superintendency of foreign trade was established in *Ts'üan chou*. Another

Chap. 95. *Sun sze*, annual expenses for rewards and pensions of the empresses, princes, princesses, and meritorious officers.

Chap. 96. *Feng chi*, salary of officers. *Chi t'ien shu*, cadastre. *Hui min yao kii*, dispensaries. *Shi ti*, granary regulations. *Chen sii*, regulations for a time of dearth.[523]

Chap. 97 contains further regulations on the transport by sea, and regulations with respect to paper money, salt, tea.

Chap. 98–101. *Ping*, military regulations, treated of under the following heads:—

Chap. 98. *Ping shi*, organisation of the army.

Chap. 99. *Su wei*, the emperor's bodyguard. *Wei su kiün*, the (ordinary) guards. *Yi chang kiün*, parade troops. *Hu tsung kiün*, the emperor's travelling guards. *K'an shou kiün*, garrisons in the fortresses. *Sii lo*, patrol guards. *Chen o kiün*, pickets. *Chen shu*, protection of the frontiers.

Chap. 100. *Ma cheng*, administration of the imperial horse pastures. *Tun t'ien*, military colonies.

Chap. 101. *Djan-ch'i*,[524] postal communication. *Kung shou*, convoy.

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superintendency was established for the three ports of *K'ing yüan* (the present Ning po), *Shang hai*, and *Gan p'u*. These three ports depended on the province of *Fu kien*, the capital of which was *Ts'üan chou*. Farther on, the ports of *Hang chou* and *Fu chou* are also mentioned in connection with foreign trade. *Chang chou* (in Fu kien, near Amoy) is only once spoken of there. We meet further the names of *Wen chou* and *Kuang chou* as seaports for foreign trade in the Mongol time. But *Ts'üan chou* in this article on the sea-trade seems to be considered as the most important of the seaports, and it is repeatedly referred to. I have, therefore, no doubt that the port of *Zayton* of Western mediæval travellers can only be identified with *Ts'üan chou*, not with *Chang chou*, as has been suggested by some commentators of M. Polo (Phillips, Douglas. See Yule's "M. Polo," ii. 217, 219, 222). There are many other reasons found in Chinese works in favour of this view. *Gan p'u* of the Yüan shi is the seaport *Gan fu* of M. Polo (i. 173). *Hang chou*, as is known, is Polo's *Kinsay*.

[523] Compare M. Polo, i. 429.

[524] Compare M. Polo, i. 419. By *djan-ch'i* a Mongol word is rendered. Even in modern Mongol a post-station is called *djam* or *dzam* (northern pronunciation). Properly it means "way." European mediæval travellers (Rubruk, M. Polo) call the Mongol post-stations *yam* or *yamb*, and the diarist of the embassy of Shah Rokh to the Chinese court in 1420 uses the same name, *yam-khane*, for the post-houses in China (M. Polo, i. 420, 423). Pauthier, in his "M. Polo," p. 335, suggests that the word *yam* may be intended for *yi ma*, "qui en chinois signifie poste aux chevaux." But *yi ma* means a post-horse, not a station. There is no Chinese etymology in the word *yam*, which even now-a-days is used by the Tatars of Kazan to designate a post-station; and the Russian word

Ki-ti-p'u-ping, foot-runners.[525] *Ying fang pu lie*, falconers.[526] A certain class of the falconers are termed *Bo-lan-ghi*.

Chap. 102–105. *Hing fa*, law regulations.

The third section, chap. 106–113, is termed *Piao*, and contains genealogical and other tables.

Chap. 106. *Hou fei*, table of the empresses and concubines.

Chap. 107. *Tsung shi shi hi*, genealogical table of the Mongol imperial family.

Chap. 108. *Chu wang*, princes of the imperial family and their appanages.

Chap. 109. *Kung chu*, princesses, and *Fu ma*, sons-in-law of the emperors.

Chap. 110, 111. *San kung*, the three *Kung*, the three highest offices in the empire, or rather titles (*e.g.*, chancellor in Europe).

Chap. 112, 113. *Tsai siang*, list of the ministers of the Mongol empire. This list begins only with Kubilai's reign.

The fourth section, *Lie chuan*, chap. 114–208, is almost entirely devoted to biographies of men of eminence during the Mongol period. It comprises about a thousand biographies.

Chap. 114 gives the biographies of the principal em-

yamshchik, meaning a driver carrying the post, has evidently been borrowed originally from the Tatars. There are in the Russian language a good many Tatar words. The Russian linguists generally derive the word *yam* from the Mongol *dzam*, supposing that it was pronounced *yam* in ancient times. But we have seen that the Yüan shi renders quite correctly the Mongol *djam*, and we may conclude that this was the Mongol term for post-station even in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, all the more as the Mongol text of the *Yüan ch'ao pi shi* (written in 1240, see farther on) also uses *djam-ch'i* for postal communication. I may observe that the character *djan*, by which the Mongol word for station has been rendered in the Yüan shi, means also station in Chinese; but the addition of the character *ch'i*, which here represents only a sound, proves that *djan-ch'i* was intended to express a foreign word. *Yam* is probably of Turkish origin.

[525] See M. Polo, i. 421.

[526] See M. Polo, i. 389.

presses, from the time of Chinghiz down to the last Mongol emperor of China.

In chap. 115–117 we find the biographies of the most distinguished of the Mongol princes, viz.:—

Chap. 115. *T'o-lei*, son of Chinghiz.[527] *Chen-kin*, son of Kubilai.[528] *Gan-ma-la* and *Ta-la-ma-ba-la*, both sons of Chen-kin.[529]

Chap. 116. Biographies of the wives of the afore-mentioned princes.

Chap. 117. *Bie-li-gu-dai*, Chinghiz' elder brother.[530] *Dju-ch'i*, Chinghiz' eldest son.[531] *T'u-la*, a great-grandson of Chagatai (second son of Chinghiz). *Ya-hu-du*, grandson of *T'o-lei*. *K'uan-chi bu-hua* and *T'ie-mu-rh bu-hua*, both grandsons of Kubilai.

The remainder of the biographies record the lives and doings of eminent statesmen, officers, generals, scholars, artists, priests, and even remarkable women, &c. The biographical section of the Yüan shi contains a great amount of information with respect to the ancient geography and history of Asia. It is not easy, however, to lay it under contribution, for the accounts, which are scattered over nearly a hundred chapters, are generally short and fragmentary, and have chiefly a value with respect to comparative investigations. The biographies found in the Yüan shi bear evidence to the liberal views of the Mongol emperors as to the acknowledgment of merit. They seem never to have been influenced by national considerations. Among the prominent men whose biographies are included in the Mongol history, we meet representatives of most of the nations of Asia subdued by the Mongol arms, viz., *Chinese*, *K'i-tan*, *Nü-chi*, *Tanguts*, *Onguts*, *Uigurs*, *Kanglis*, *Alans*, *Kipchaks*, *Karluks*, *Merkits*, *Persians*, and other Mohammedans, &c. Some of these foreigners held high offices at the court of

[527] *Tului* of Rashid.

[528] *Chingkim* of Rashid (d'Ohsson, ii. 500). M. Polo, i. 351, calls him *Chinkin*.

[529] Wassaf calls them *Kambala* and *Tarmah*. See M. Polo, i. 353.

[530] *Bilgutei* of Rashid.

[531] *Djuchi* of Rashid.

the Mongol emperors; others distinguished themselves as valiant captains. The Mongols were conscious of the intellectual superiority of the more civilised nations. Kubilai, after establishing his power in China, did not oblige the Chinese to learn Mongol. He was, on the contrary, a protector of Chinese literature, which was very flourishing in the days of the Mongols. Of course the greater part of the biographical section of the Yüan shi is devoted to persons of Mongol origin; but we are not surprised at finding that, with a few exceptions, all the distinguished Mongols belonged to the army, or were *darugachi* (governors) in the provinces.

The fourth section of the Yüan shi concludes with some accounts of various foreign nations and countries, east and south of China, and some seaports of India (chap. 208–210). As these countries are beyond the field of my researches, I shall give only the names.

Chap. 208. *Kao-li*, or Korea (the *Cauly* of M. Polo, i. 335).

Tan-lo. The island of Quelpart.

Ji-pen, or Japan, (the *Chipan-gu* of M. Polo, ii. 235).

Chap. 209. *Annan*, Annam or Tongking.

Chap. 210. *Mien* (now *Mien tien*, Burma). See M. Polo, ii. 81.

Chen ch'eng, Champa (the name of an ancient Malay settlement on the eastern side of the Gulf of Siam, in the country of Kambodja). M. Polo, ii. 248.

Sien (now *Sien-lo*, Siam).

Djao-wa (Java). M. Polo, ii. 254.

Liu k'iu (the Lew chew islands, including Formosa).

San yü (Mijako sima, one of the Lew chew islands).

Ma-ba-rh (the Coromandel Coast, *Maabar* of M. Polo, ii. 313).

Kü-lan (the Coilum of M. Polo, ii. 363, a great port of trade in Southern India).

The kingdom of *Su-mu-ta*.

The kingdom of *Su-mu-tu-la* (*Sumoltra* of Odoric, or *Sumatra*, "Cathay," 86).

The kingdom of *Na-wang* (perhaps *Necuveran* of M. Polo, ii. 289, the Nicobar islands).

Sü-men-na (perhaps the *Semenat* of M. Polo, ii. 389, on the peninsula of Guzerat).

Seng-ghi-li (*Cyngilin* of Odoric and others, *Cranagore;* see "Cathay," Prel. Ess., p. 77).

Nan-wu-li (compare Groeneveldt, "Malay Archipelago," 30; this is the *Lambri* of M. Polo, ii. 281, situated on the island of Sumatra).

Ma-lan-tan, Ting-ho-rh, Lai-lai, Ghi-lan-yi-te (places unknown to me).

In 1828, Father *Hyacinth* translated the first three chapters of the Yüan shi into Russian, with the title "History of the Reign of the first four Khans of Chinghiz Khan's Dynasty." His version is very correct; it is to be regretted, however, that this accomplished sinologue translated from the corrupted text of the Yüan shi. It is therefore impossible to make use of his version without comparing it with the original Chinese text. A complete translation of the original text of the Yüan shi would be a very valuable contribution to our knowledge of the mediæval history and geography of Asia. It would throw much fresh light especially on the history of the Mongols, and be serviceable to explain many dubious questions in the narratives of European mediæval travellers.

There is an abridged Chinese history of the Mongol dynasty extant, published in 1699 by *Kiai shan*, under the name of *Yüan shi lei pien*, in forty-two chapters. It is known also under the title of *Su Hung kien lu, i.e.*,

contiuuation of the *Hung kien lu;* the latter being a historical work embracing the annals of the *Wu tai* period (907–960), the *Sung*, *Liao*, *Hia*, and *Kin* dynasties. The Yüan shi lei pien, although only an abstract of the Yüan shi, is a very valuable book of reference; for the learned author has added a great deal of interesting matter, drawn for the greater part from rare works of the Mongol period. The first ten chapters comprise an abstract of the annals of the Yüan shi, and have been translated by Father *Gaubil* in his "Histoire de Gentchisean et de toute la Dynastie des Mongous," 1739. A curious ancient map is found at the head of the Yüan shi lei pien. It bears the title *so mo t'u*, "map of the desert," and comprises the Mongolian desert and the adjacent countries. The map has the appearance of a reproduction of an ancient map compiled in the days of the Mongols. There are some names of places marked, especially in the neighbourhood of Karakorum, which are not mentioned in the Yüan shi or in other works; and it is very unlikely that Kiai shan drew this map up from the descriptions at his disposal. A. Rémusat in his "Recherches sur la Ville de Kara-koroum" (1817), gives an incomplete reproduction of it. See also Klaproth's "Mém. Rel. à l'Asie," i. 93, 164.

In 1866, Archimandrite *Palladius* made the learned world (in Russia) acquainted with a Chinese, or rather Mongol historical work of considerable importance. In the fourth volume of the "Records of the Russian Ecclesiastical Mission at Peking" he presented a Russian translation of the *Yüan ch'ao pi shi*, or "Secret History of the Mongol Dynasty." In the introduction to his translation Palladius gives a minutely detailed history of the work, from which we learn that it was originally written in Mongol, and had been finished in A.D. 1240 at the time of a great assembly on the river *Kerulun*. It treats of the early history of the Mongols, the reign of Chinghiz and the beginning of the reign of Ogotai. In the early

Ming time a Chinese translation of it was made. The text translated by Palladius is included in the same collection in which the narrative of Ch'ang ch'un's travels is found (see note 80). The Yüan ch'ao pi shi is mentioned in the *Hung wu shi lu* or detailed record of the reign of *Hung wu*, under the year 1382. It is stated there that it had been written in *Uigur* letters in Mongol, and that a Chinese translation of it was made, to which the Mongol text was annexed,—not in the original letters, but by rendering the Mongol sounds by Chinese characters. After Palladius had published his translation, he happened in 1872 to obtain a MS. copy of the Ming edition of the work, the Chinese text, accompanied with the Mongol text (in Chinese characters). It was found that the text Palladius had translated was only an abstract of the original work, which comprises fifteen chapters, but has no title. Although many archaisms and clerical errors occur in this text, the restoration of the Mongol original presents little difficulty for men acquainted with both Chinese and Mongol. For all who have made the history of the Mongols their study, this rare document of ancient Mongol literature presents a high interest. It corroborates generally Rashid-eddin's records, and occasionally we find passages in it which sound like a literal translation of the statements of the Persian historiographer. This proves that Rashid had made use of the same source of information as the unknown author of the Yüan ch'ao pi shi. As to the dates in the latter work, they are generally in accordance with the dates given by the Mohammedan authors; but in a few cases the Yüan ch'ao pi shi commits great chronological blunders and misplacements of events, as, for instance, with respect to the war in the west (see farther on).

Palladius' MS. copy of the Yüan ch'ao pi shi now belongs to the library of the St. Petersburg University. An accomplished Mongol scholar, Professor *Pozdneyeff*, has undertaken to publish a facsimile of the texts with a

translation and notes. The preface and the greater part of the texts have already been printed.

In the Russian "Oriental Record," 1872, Archim. Palladius has published the translation of another ancient historical record referring to the warlike doings of Chinghiz. The Chinese title of the book, of which Palladius possessed only a MS. copy, is *Huang yüan sheng wu Tsin cheng lu.* It seems to have been compiled from Mongol documents in the first half of the fourteenth century, but the author is unknown. This work is repeatedly quoted in the Yüan shi lei pien.

I may also mention a history of the Mongols compiled in the middle of the seventeenth century by the Mongol prince *Ssanang Ssetsen.* A German translation of it was published in 1829 by *J. Schmidt* in St. Petersburg. There is also a Chinese translation of the work extant, known under the name of *Meng-gu yüan lu.* It seems that this Mongol history is based principally on traditions, not on official documents; therefore it sometimes diverges widely from the other more authentic records of Mongol history we know; and with respect to the dates, it is quite untrustworthy. Professor Berezin in his translation of Rashid (see farther on) says that the non-existence of Ssanang Ssetsen's history would be no loss to historical science.

Finally, in reviewing the Chinese and Mongol works treating of the history of the Mongols, I ought not to omit mentioning the *Cho keng lu,* written in the middle of the fourteenth century by the learned *T'ao Tsung yi.* It comprises thirty chapters, and contains notes on different matters referring to the time of the Mongol dynasty. There is in it a considerable amount of information with respect to the customs, institutions, &c., of the Mongols, and we meet also with interesting historical and geo-

graphical accounts bearing on that period. I have had an opportunity of giving translations from the Cho keng lu in my Archæological Researches on Peking and in the first part of the present volume. In the first chapter of the work we find a list of the names of seventy-two Mongol tribes, and after this other lists of nations and tribes in China, Eastern and Central Asia.

As the Chinese and Mongol sources of information with respect to the Mongol nation are very little known to European scholars, our historians who have written the history of the Mongols have relied almost entirely upon the *Mohammedan historiographers* of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, whose conscientious records concerning the Mongol era are indeed entitled to the greatest confidence. The Chinese and Mongol chroniclers never present so detailed, coherent, and intelligible accounts as do the able Persian historiographers on the same subject; but, as I have stated above, I assign to the authors of the Far East also a great importance, and especially with respect to comparative historical researches. The subsequent notices concerning the Mohammedan authors who wrote on the Mongols are borrowed from d'Ohsson's "Histoire des Mongols," where more detailed accounts on this subject will be found. I mention only the most important Persian works.

The *Tarikh Djihan Kushai*, or history of the conqueror of the world, written by *Alai-eddin Atta mulk Djuveni*, records the events of the last ten years of Chinghiz Khan's reign. It first gives an account of the conquest of Transoxiana and Persia by the Mongols. After this the reigns of Ogotai and Kuyuk and the beginning of the reign of Mangu are treated of. It terminates in 1257. In this history we find also interesting accounts of the *Uigurs* and the *Karakhitai*, of which I shall give a

translation farther on. Alai-eddin in 1252 accompanied his father, who was in the Mongol service, to the grand Kuriltai held at the accession of Mangu Khan. He died in 1283.

The Tarikh Djihankushai has been continued by *Abdullah*, son of Fazel-ullah, more generally known under his honorific title *Vassaf ul Hazret*, or the "panegyrist of his majesty." It contains the history of the Mongols from 1257 to 1327.

Among the Persian authors who wrote on the Mongols and other nations of Eastern and Central Asia, and the great political events which shook the different states of Asia in the thirteenth century, the first rank is incontestably due to the celebrated historiographer *Rashid-eddin*, who in his remarkable work *Djami ut Tewarikh*, or collection of annals, gives the most complete and intelligible record of the history of the Mongols. Besides this, we find in his book very valuable and detailed accounts of the nomadic Tatar and Turkish tribes who in the days of Chinghiz lived in Eastern and Central Asia. One chapter is devoted to a very interesting and quite exact description of China or Khitai and the adjacent countries at the close of the thirteenth century.

Rashid was born at Hamadan about A.D. 1247, and was a physician by profession.[532] Ghazan Khan named him vizier of the Persian empire in 1298. He continued in

[532] In the *Tarikh-i-Khata*, or History of China, which *A. Müller Greiffenhag* attributes to *Abdallah Beidavi*, and which he translated into Latin in 1677, we find two passages (edition of 1689, pp. 5–6, 12–13) where it is clearly stated that Rashid was a Chinaman: "Rexido'd Din Vezirius, e Philosophis Chatajorum, *Litagi* et *Meksun* nomine, terris *Hing-ping-xang* oriundus." But Quatremère in his "Histoire des Mongols," preface, pp. 4, 85, 99, has proved that, although Müller's translation is correct, there was an omission in Müller's Persian text. We have to understand that *Pulad Chinksank*, who assisted Rashid in the compilation of his history of the Mongols, was a native of Khata. Besides this, Quatremère has had the ingenuity to guess that the Tarikh-i-Khata, dated 1317, and attributed by Müller to Abdallah Beidavi (who however died in 1292), in reality was

the office of vizier during the reign of Oldjaitu, to whom he presented his work in 1307. Rashid was put to death by order of Abu Said in 1318. He states in the preface to his work that in compiling it he was considerably aided by the great noyen *Pulad chinksank*[533] (a Mongol evidently), generalissimo and minister of the empire, "who knows better than any man living the origin and history of the Turkish tribes, and especially of that of the Mongols." Rashid mentions also important historical documents with respect to the history of the Mongols preserved in the archives of Ghazan Khan, and to which he had access. He speaks further of the Mongol annals called *Altan depter* (golden book), kept in the treasure-house of the Khan, and committed to the charge of the senior of the Begs (Berezin's Russian translation of Rashid, i. pp. 8 and 183).

The first attempt to translate the Djami ut Tevarikh was made by a German orientalist, *Hammer Purgstatt*, who selected for this purpose one of the most interesting chapters of the book, the account of China proper. But Klaproth found much fault with Hammer's version, especially in the defective decipherment of proper names, and published a new translation in correction of Hammer in 1833, in the "Nouv. Journ. Asiat.," xi. Another translation of the same chapter is found in d'Ohsson, ii. 633. See also Quatremère's "Histoire des Mongols," preface, 86–90.

In *d'Ohsson* "*Histoire des Mongols*," of which the first edition appeared in 1824 (see farther on), the main authority

written by *Benaketi*. A MS. copy of the Tarikh-i-Benaketi in the British Museum leaves no doubt that Quatremère is right. The eighth book of this historical work comprises the history of Khata, in which Benaketi closely copies Rashid, without adopting his arrangement; but as Benaketi occasionally gives some details not found in the defective manuscripts of the Djami ut Tevarikh now extant, we may conclude that he made use of a complete MS. of that work.

[533] The author renders the Chinese *cheng siang*, meaning prince or high minister.

used is Rashid-eddin. But d'Ohsson does not always give a literal, coherent translation of the Persian historian, but rather works up Rashid's statements, together with those of other writers, in his elaborate history of the Chinghizkhanids.

In 1836 the accomplished French orientalist *Quatremère* began to publish in the "Collection Orientale" his "*Histoire des Mongols de la Perse*," translated from the *Djami ut Tevarikh;* but only the fifth part of this section (one volume) appeared. It terminates with the death of Hulagu.

A complete Russian translation of the Djami ut Tevarikh has been undertaken by a competent Russian orientalist, Professor *I. N. Berezin* of St. Petersburg. He is publishing the original Persian text and a Russian translation in the "Memoirs of the Russian Archæol. Society." The first volume, 392 pages, comprising Rashid's accounts of the various nations and tribes of Turkish and Mongol origin living in the eastern part of Asia, was issued in 1858; the second volume, containing the early history of the Mongols down to the time of Chinghiz Khan's accession to the throne, A.D. 1206, saw the light in 1868. It has 239 pages Persian text, 335 of translation and commentaries. As the author informs us, four volumes are to follow, of which one is now in the press. It seems to me that none of the previous translations of Rashid can enter into competition with that of Berezin. Not only has he at his disposal several of the best manuscripts of the Djami ut Tevarikh, but he is also considerably aided in the understanding of the Persian author's record by his acquaintance with Eastern Asiatic languages. Berezin states in the preface that Rashid's style is quite easy of understanding, and that the only difficulty the translator meets is to get the correct reading and pronunciation of the foreign proper names occurring so frequently in the Persian text, the diacritical points of the letters being often omitted in the manuscripts. Professor Berezin has also translated and very ably annotated the accounts given

by Rashid and other Mohammedan authors of the invasions of Russia by the Mongols. See "Journal of the Department of Public Instruction" for 1853 and 1855.

In commenting upon geographical names in Central and Western Asia mentioned in ancient Chinese and Mongol writings, I have frequently to refer for corroboration or elucidation to the geographical accounts of those countries as given by the Mohammedan authors of the same period. We now possess many excellent European translations of the most important Arabic and Persian geographical accounts. I may mention the following Mohammedan geographers and historians repeatedly quoted in these pages.

Mas'udi, the famous historian and geographer, who visited India, Ceylon, and the coast of China in A.D. 915. He died in 956. He is the author of the "Meadows of Gold," treating of history, geography, and other things. "*Les Prairies d'Or*," de *Maçoudi*, traduction française par *Barbier de Meynard* et *Pavet de Courteille*, nine volumes, 1861–77.

Ibn Khurdadbih + A.D. 912, wrote a geographical work on the "Roads and Kingdoms," which has been translated in *A. Sprenger's* "Post- u. Reiserouten des Orientes," Abh. f. d. Kunde d. Morgenlandes, iii. 1864.

Istakhri, who lived in the tenth century, is the author of a geographical work, "The Book of the Countries." *Mordtmann* translated an abridgment of it into German with the title "Das Buch der Länder," 1845.

Ibn Haukal, who was Istakhri's contemporary, wrote in 977 a description of countries, which is nothing but a reproduction of Istakhri's book with additions by Ibn Haukal. The work *Ouseley* translated with the title "*Oriental Geography of Ebn Haukal*," 1800, is in reality a Persian version of Istakhri.

Firdusi of *Tus*, the famous Persian poet, "the Homer of Persia," born A.D. 931, + 1020. He wrote the celebrated epic poem *Shahnameh*, which contains the annals

of the ancient kings of Persia down to the death of Yezdigerd III., the last monarch of the Sasanian race, who was deprived of his kingdom A.D. 641, by the invasion of the Arabs. The "Shahnameh" was translated by *J. de Mohl*, "*Le Livre des Rois par Firdouse*," seven volumes, 1838–78.

Edrisi, the author of an Arabian geography composed in A.D. 1153. "*Géographie d'Edrisi*," traduite de l'arabe par *P. A. Jaubert*, 1836, two volumes.

Yakut, A.D. 1178–1229, wrote a dictionary of countries. *Barbier de Meynard* in his "*Dictionnaire géographique etc. de la Perse*," 1861, has extracted from Yukut's book all the geographical accounts relating to Persia.

Abulfeda, A.D. 1273–1331, author of a geographical work, which he finished in 1321. "*Géographie d'Aboulféda*," traduite de l'arabe par *M. Reinaud* et *S. Guyard*, two volumes, 1848–83.

Ibn Batuta, the great Arabian traveller, born 1304, + 1378. The narrative of his extensive travels in Asia and Africa has been translated by *Defrémery* and *Sanguinetti*. "*Voyages d'Ibn Batoutah*," four volumes, 1853–58.

An indispensable book of reference with respect to Asiatic history and geography, for students in this department who have not access to the original sources, or who are not acquainted with Arabic and Persian, is *d'Herbelot's* "*Bibliothèque Orientale*, ou Dictionnaire Universel, contenant tout ce qui fait connaître les Peuples de l'Orient, leur Histoire," etc. The first edition was published in 1697 in Paris, the second in Maestricht in 1776. Klaproth calls d'Herbelot "le père de nos connaissances sur l'Orient." The only reproach to which this eminent orientalist is open is that of merely giving, in his "Bibliothèque Orientale," translations from Mohammedan authors without venturing any critical remarks, or even taking exception to contradictions in the statements he brings forward. The second edition of the "Bibliothèque Orientale" (the edition

to which I always refer) has a very valuable appendix: "*Supplément à la Bibliothèque Orientale*," par *C. Visdelou* et *A. Galland*. About 200 pages of this supplement are from the pen of Visdelou, and contain a great amount of interesting information, drawn from Chinese sources, with respect to the history and geography of Eastern and Central Asia. *Claude Visdelou*, born in 1656 in Bretagne, went as a missionary to China in 1685, and spent there twenty-four years. In 1709 he went to Pondicherry, where he died in 1737. I feel no hesitation in asserting that he was the most accomplished sinologue among the old Jesuit missionaries in China. All his translations show a profound and critical knowledge of the Chinese language. With respect to China, Visdelou takes the same place as Klaproth assigned to d'Herbelot with reference to Western Asia, and well deserves to be termed "the father of our knowledge of Chinese historical records," especially the history of the nations of Central and Eastern Asia.

In the first part of the supplement, Visdelou explains, from Chinese sources, a number of proper names and terms used by the Mohammedan authors with reference to China, viz., *Fagfur*, *Tencu*, *Sin*, *Loukin*, *Khankou*, *Namkink*, *Khathai*, *Khanbalig*, *Cara-Cathaian*, *Van*, *Ca*, *Dacouk*, *Dapikhen*, *Fenek*, *Giagh* or *Tchagh*. (The latter seven terms refer to chronology and astronomy.)

The second part is entitled "*Histoire de la Tartarie*," pp. 18–133, and gives the complete history of the nations and tribes of Mongolia and Central Asia, all the information being drawn from the histories of the Chinese dynasties. We find there the history of the *Hiung-nu*, the *Wei*, the *Geou-gen*, the *Tou-kioue* (Turks), the *Hui-ho* (Uigurs), the *Sie-yen-to*, the *Kie-kia-sze* (Kirghizes), and many others. After this, forty-three pages are devoted to the histories of the *K'i-tan* (Liao) and the *Kin* (translations from the Liao shi and Kin shi). On pp. 117–119 we find an interesting dissertation on the invention of gunpowder by

the Chinese, and the cannon they made use of in the Middle Ages. The accounts Visdelou gives of the *Yuen* or Mongol dynasty occupy only one page. The Manchus are treated of in six pages.

The third part contains a dissertation on the term *Khan*.

The fourth part (thirty pages) has further explanations of names and countries, places and nations, of Central and Eastern Asia occurring in the writings of the Mohammedans, viz., *Cara-khotan, Khotan, Aigur* (Uigur), *Botom, Turk, Ung, Cathay, Tatar, Mogol* and others. Finally, Visdelou gives a short account of the reigns of the first five Mongol emperors.

The fifth part, pp. 165–190, is a learned treatise on the famous *Nestorian tablet* at Si an fu.

I ought not to omit from my bibliographical notices an extensive work on the history of Asiatic nations, written in the last century by a French orientalist of great repute. It cannot be denied that *J. De Guignes* in his "*Histoire des Huns, Turcs, Mogols* et autres Tartares occidentaux," published in Paris, 1756–58, in five volumes, has contributed a great amount of new information, drawn from Mohammedan, Chinese, and other sources; but the competent reader will admit, I think, that the vast material brought together has been badly worked up by the author, who in his conclusions and identifications draws too much on his imagination, and seldom deems it necessary to give any evidence for the correctness of his views. In many cases it is impossible to decide who is responsible for any given account or opinion, whether it is De Guignes or the ancient author he quotes. Thus his researches on Asiatic history have but little claim to be considered scientific investigations. It may be said that he has rather spread confusion than shed light. Even the title of his work implies an error, for he identifies the *Huns*, who first appeared in history about A.D. 375, with the *Hiung-nu*, a people

first mentioned in the Chinese annals in the third century B.C. as living in Mongolia, and who for nearly 400 years were constant disturbers of the Chinese frontier. In 216 A.D. the power of the Hiung nu was completely destroyed by the Chinese, and their names disappeared from Chinese history. In his identification (i. 215), De Guignes, of course, was only guided by similarity of sounds. Klaproth has shown [534] that De Guignes' view is opposed to all that we know regarding the Huns and the Hiung-nu. The same French orientalist has also broached the famous hypotheses, that the Chinese were an Egyptian colony, and that the Chinese discovered America in the fourth century.

After De Guignes, a more able and clear-sighted orientalist of the present century undertook to write a history of the Mongols. In 1825 the Baron *C. d'Ohsson* published his "*Histoire des Mongols depuis Tchinguiz Khan jusqu'à Timour Bey ou Tamerlan*," in four volumes (other editions in 1834 and 1852). A map showing the political divisions of Asia in the thirteenth century is appended. In this elaborate work, which I quote frequently in these pages, the learned author has gathered all the documents bearing upon the history of the Mongols known at the time he wrote. D'Ohsson's information is drawn principally from the Mohammedan authors, of whose records he gives translations. D'Ohsson was himself of oriental origin (Armenian), and therefore well versed in Persian, Arabic, and Turkish. He was also well acquainted with many European languages. His "Histoire des Mongols" is written in an attractive style. It seems to me that d'Ohsson has exhausted the sources respecting the history of the Mongols, as far, at least, as information can be drawn from Mohammedan and other Western Asiatic and European mediæval writers. It is only from the ancient records of the Chinese and Mongols that some new light on this subject can be expected.

[534] Klaproth's Tableaux Hist. de l'Asie, 241, 242.

About ten years ago Mr. *H. H. Howorth* published a bulky work in three volumes on the "*History of the Mongols*," which deserves to be noticed on the occasion, as being the first attempt to write a history of the Mongols in English. The author has brought together with much research and sagacious criticism all that had been previously written on the subject by European orientalists. Besides this, the same author published in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society from 1875 to 1883 a series of papers with the title "*The Northern Frontagers of China*," in which he gives a summary of the histories of the *Khitans* or *Liao*, the *Kin* or *Golden Tatars*, the *Hia* or *Tangut*, and the *Manchus*.

I have also to quote repeatedly in these pages the narratives of those well-known European mediæval travellers who visited Eastern Asia in the thirteenth century.

As to *Plano Carpini* and *Rubruk*, my references are invariably to the pages of the (original) Latin editions in the "Recueil de Voyages et de Mémoires publié par la Société de Géographie," tom. iv. 1839.

John of Plano Carpini, despatched by Pope Innocent to Kuyuk Khan, set out from Lyons in April 1245; on the 4th April 1246 he reached the head-quarters of Batu on the Wolga; on the 22d July he arrived at the camp of the Great Khan near Karakorum. He left Kuyuk Khan on the 13th November, and on the 9th May 1247 reached again the camp of Batu, and returned safely in the autumn of 1247.

Rubruquis, or rather *Rubrouck*, was sent by St. Louis on a mission to the Tartar chiefs. He entered the Black Sea on the 7th May 1253, and landed at the port of *Soldaia*, on the Crimean peninsula. On the 1st of June he set out for his long journey, first visited Sartakh, who was beyond the river *Tanais*, and then Batu, whose camp was

near the Volga. On the 14th September he left the court of Batu, and on the 27th December reached the court of Mangu Khan near Karakorum, where he remained for more than six months. On the 10th July 1254 he commenced his journey back, and on the 16th September arrived again at the court of Batu. Hence he proceeded along the western shore of the Caspian Sea to *Derbend*, traversed Great Armenia, went to *Iconium*, *Little Armenia*, *Cyprus*, and finally reached, in September 1255, *Accon* (in Palestine), where he wrote the report of his journey.

The third traveller in the thirteenth century through Central Asia, whose name frequently appears in these pages, is *Marco Polo*, the most valuable of all Western authorities with respect to the mediæval geography of Asia. He was a young man when he accompanied his uncles, who were merchants, across the Asiatic continent to Khanbalik or Peking. They set out in 1271, travelled by way of Bagdad to Hormuz on the Persian Gulf, then turning northwards, traversed Kerman and Khorassan, Balkh and Badakhshan, and reached the Pamir steppe. This they crossed, and then continued by way of Kashgar, Yarkand, Khotan, by Lake Lobnor and Tangut, until they reached Kubilai's court in 1275. M. Polo remained seventeen years in China. He left it in 1292, and returned by sea, visiting many ports in the Indian seas. In 1295 he reached Venice, his native place. My quotations from M. Polo's travels refer to the magnificent edition published by *Colonel Yule*, the "*Book of Ser Marco Polo*," in two volumes, second edition, 1875.

As to *Odoric*, *Marignolli*, and other mediæval travellers to China in the fourteenth century, I rely upon Colonel Yule's "*Cathay and the Way Thither*," 1866.

Among the works to which reference will be made in this part of my researches, I may finally mention *Karamzin's* "*History of Russia*," published 1815–29, in twelve volumes. This extensive work gives the original

text of all the ancient Russian annals in Slavonian. In vols. iii. and iv. the invasion of Russia by the Mongols is treated of, principally from Russian sources. I always quote the Russian original work, for the French translation of it by St. Thomas and Jauffret, 1820, shows many mistakes. Besides this, the translators omitted the citations of the annals.

In concluding these notices, it remains for me briefly to review a few modern Chinese geographical works and maps occasionally referred to in this volume, and upon which most of my identifications of ancient names of places in China proper, Mongolia, Manchuria, and Eastern Turkestan are based.

The most important of these works is the *Ta Ts'ing I t'ung chi*, or great geography of the Chinese empire under the present (Ta Ts'ing) dynasty.[535] It was first issued in 1743. The second much enlarged edition was published in 1764, in 500 chapters, and contains detailed descriptions of Eastern and Western Turkestan.

At about the same time a special geographical description of Eastern and Western Turkestan, accompanied with maps, was compiled by order of Emperor K'ien lung, and published in 1763 with the title *Si yü t'u chi*. My friend Mr. C. Imbault-Huart has translated a part of it in his "*Recueils de Documents sur l'Asie Centrale*," 1881.

The *Sin k'iang chi lio*, or description of the new frontier, published in 1820, deals with the same subject as the Si yü t'u chi, but is an independent work, in which a great deal of new matter is contained.

The best modern Chinese map of the imperial dominions and the dependencies is the *Ta Ts'ing I t'ung yü t'u*, published in Wu chang fu in 1863.

[535] As I have stated in note 521, there existed in the days of the Mongols a Chinese description of the empire with the title *Yüan I t'ung chi*. A similar work, the *Ming I t'ung chi*, or Geography of the Ming empire, published in 1461, is still extant.

A very useful book for reference is the geographical dictionary *Li tai ti li chi yün pien kin shi*, in which ancient and modern names of places in China proper, Manchuria, and Mongolia are arranged according to a system, under about 1600 characters. The identifications of ancient names of places in this work are quite reliable, for the author of it has drawn his information from the geographical sections of the Chinese dynastic histories, where the successive changes of the names are noticed. About twelve years ago a new edition of this dictionary with historical maps was published. *E. Biot* published in 1842 a "Dictionnaire des Noms anciens et modernes des Villes et Arrondissements de l'Empire chinois," but his book is too incomplete for exact and detailed researches.

NOTICE OF THE K'I-TAN AND THE KARA-KHITAI.

The original seats of the *K'i-tan* were in Southern Manchuria (*Liao tung*), where they are mentioned in the Chinese annals as early as the fourth century of our era. A. Rémusat ("Langues Tatares") and Klaproth ("Asia Polyglotta") hold them to have been Tunguses, and of the same stock as the *Kin* and the *Manchus*. As can be concluded from some K'i-tan words which have been preserved in ancient Chinese works, they were a mixed race, in which the Mongol and Tungus element predominated considerably.

Very interesting accounts, not published before, of the K'i-tan and their early history are found in Professor Wassilieff's "Historical and Archæological Researches with respect to the middle part of Eastern Asia" (Manchuria and Eastern Mongolia), from the tenth to the thirteenth century, 1857 (in Russian). These notices are principally drawn from the *Liao shi*, or Chinese history of the Liao (K'i-tan) dynasty, and the *Liao kuo chi*, or history of the K'i-tan nation. The first section of the Liao shi (the annals) has been translated into German from the Manchu text by H. C. v. d. Gabelentz, and was published by his son in 1877. Compare also Professor W. Schott's "Kitai and Karakitai," 1879 (Akad. d. Wiss., Berlin).

In the beginning of the tenth century, the chief of the K'i-tan, named *Ye lü Apaoki*, having subdued all the K'i-tan tribes, made himself master of a great part of Mongolia, and in 916 proclaimed himself emperor with the (Chinese) name *T'ai tsu*, 916–927. The son of this conqueror,

T'ai tsung (*Te kuang*), 927–947, conquered a part of Northern China, and gave his dynasty the title of *Liao*. This K'i-tan or Liao empire subsisted for two centuries, 916–1125, in Northern China (only the northern part of the provinces of Chili—including modern Peking—and Shansi), and the adjoining regions of Manchuria and Mongolia. It is well known that the name of Kathay, applied by the Mohammedan authors and by European mediæval travellers to China, or rather Northern China, originated from the word K'i-tan. Even now-a-days the nations which know China from an inland point of view, as the Russians, Persians, and the nations of Turkestan, style China *Kitai*. The K'i-tan or Liao empire was overthrown by the *Kin* (see note 574).

Benaketi, or rather Rashid-eddin, whom he copies in his description of Khatai,[536] states: "North of Khatai are the nomadic people which the Chinese call *Khidan*, the Mongols *Kara kitai*. The country where they live borders on the deserts of Mongolistan. In times past one of these nomades, called *Kaolichi Aia*, conquered Khatai, assumed the title of king, and transmitted the throne to his descendants, who occupied it for a long space of time. Farther on Benaketi says that the name of *Kaolichi Aiaki* was *Liao*, which means king. He conquered the world, and eight of his descendants reigned over his empire 219 years. According to d'Ohsson (i. 114), Rashid writes this name *Djulidji Apaki*.

A few years before the overthrow of the Liao dynasty, a prince of the imperial family of the Liao escaped westwards, gathered an army, and conquered Eastern and Western Turkestan; Khovarezm became tributary to him. His empire became known as *Kara Khitai* in Western Asia, and subsisted for nearly a century. Its rulers caused much trouble in the Mohammedan countries in the twelfth century. It was destroyed by Chinghiz Khan,

[536] See note 532; also Müller Greiffenhag's "Abdallæ Beidavæi Historia Sinensis," p. 14, 63; Quatremère's "Hist. d. Mongols," pref., 86–90.

who, having subdued the Tartar tribes in Mongolia, and made several irruptions into China and the Tangut empire, directed his armies towards the west; and there it was next the turn of the Kara Khitai empire, which then bordered upon the expanding empire of the conqueror, to experience the invincibleness of his arms.

The name of *Kara Khitai* was not invented in Western Asia; it seems to be of Mongol or Turkish origin; for *kara* means "black" in both languages, and *Khitai*, as I have stated, is intended for K'i-tan or Liao. The ancient Mongol annals style this people *Karakitat*, which is the plural form of Karakita. The reason why they were termed *Black Khidans* by the Mongols is unknown. As the founder of the Kara Khitai empire was a prince of the Liao, the Chinese annals call it *Si Liao*, Western Liao, the other name being unknown to the Chinese.[537]

Accounts of the Kara Khitai and their empire in Central Asia have come down to us from two different sources. The eastern (Chinese and Mongol) records on the subject are found in the *Liao shi*, in the Chinese annals *Kang mu*, in the *Yüan ch'ao pi shi*, and other Chinese mediæval works. On the other side we possess notices of the same people by the Mohammedan historians in the *Tarikh Djihan Kushai* and the *Djami ut Tevarikh*.

The Chinese records on the *Si Liao* (Western Liao) have been translated into French by Visdelou and Du Mailla. The first translated from the *Liao shi*, chap. xxx., end of the annals, reign of the last Liao emperor, T'ien tso (1101–25), and his translation was published in the "Suppl. à la Bibl. Orient.," p. 10 *seqq*. He gives a very correct and literal version of the Chinese text; he has, however, occasionally omitted some particulars (*e.g.*, proper names), considering them probably unimportant. Du Mailla translated from the Chinese annals *Kang mu*. See his "Histoire de la Chine," viii. p. 408–419. The com-

[537] I have only once met with the name of *Hei K'i-tan* or Black K'i-tan in Chinese books. See note 398.

pilers of the Kang mu seem to have made use of information independent of the Liao history.[538]

I shall present here a new and complete translation of the article on the *Si Liao* in the Liao history. This translation will be followed by others on the same subject, not published hitherto, and drawn from the histories of the Kin and Yüan and other Chinese or Mongol mediæval works. The Liao shi (*l. c.*) reads as follows:—

Ye-lü Ta-shi[539] was the founder of the dynasty called *Si Liao*. He was a descendant in the eighth generation of *T'ai tsu* (or Apaoki, the first Liao emperor). The honorific title *Chung te* (highly meritorious) had been bestowed upon him. He was well versed in the literature of the Liao, as well as in that of the Chinese; and besides this he was a clever horseman and skilful archer. In 1115 he received the degree of *shi* (doctor), and was admitted a member of the *han lin* (national academy); and as he was *lin-ya*[540] in the academy, he was generally called *Ta-shi lin-ya*. Subsequently he was appointed civil and military governor in the north-eastern provinces. In the year 1220, the Emperor T'ien tso, pressed hard by the Kin, had abandoned his throne and taken to roving about. Ye-lü Ta-shi then assembled the dignitaries of the empire, and placed on the throne *Shun*, a prince of the imperial family. But Shun fell ill and died, and then his wife, *Siao te*, was entrusted with the regency and the defence of *Yen* (the present Peking, at that time the capital of the Liao empire). When the army of the Kin arrived at Yen (in 1120, according to the Liao annals), Siao te fled to the emperor T'ien tso,[541] who grew very

[538] There are some discrepancies in these two records with respect to the same events; and for the dates the Kang mu is generally one or two years in advance.

[539] *Ye-lü* was the name of the reigning family of the K'i-tan or Liao.

[540] *Lin-ya* seems to be a term of the K'i-tan language. Visdelou translates it by "académicien."

[541] The Liao emperor was at that time in *T'ien te*. See annals of the

angry, ordering her to be put to death, and reprimanded Ta-shi[542] for having raised to the throne the prince Shun, whilst the legitimate emperor was still alive. Ta-shi then answered: "Even at the time when the empire was still in full vigour, your majesty had not been able once to repulse the enemy, but had fled far away, abandoning the people in their calamities; and had I then placed Shun on the throne, the reigning family would still have been descendants of our ancestor T'ai tsu. Has it not been the more dignified course now thus to act, instead of imploring the enemy for mercy?"

To this the emperor had nothing to reply. He entertained Ta-shi with a feast and pardoned him; but Ta-shi did not feel himself in safety, and having killed *Ki-sie* and *Po-li-kuo*,[543] he declared himself sovereign. Then at the head of two hundred well-armed horsemen he departed by night (evidently from T'ien te) and proceeded northward.

After a march of three days they crossed the *Hei shui*,[544] where Ta-shi met with *Chuang-gu-rh*, the chief of the *Po T'a-ta*,[545] who offered him four hundred horses, twenty camels, and about a thousand sheep. Thence proceeding westward, he arrived at the city of *K'o-tun*.[546] In *Pei t'ing tu hu fu*[547] he rested for some time and assembled the

Liao shi, *s. a.* 1120. *T'ien te*, probably the *Tenduc* of M. Polo (i. 275), was in the vicinity of the great northern bend of the Yellow River, a little north of it.

[542] Some details regarding the retreat of Ta-shi from Peking are given in the history of the Kin dynasty (see farther on).

[543] Probably dignitaries at the court of the Liao emperor.

[544] The river *Etsina*. See note 428.

[545] This is the Chinese name for the *Ongut* tribe. See note 517 and the corresponding text.

[546] The existence of a place of this name seems to be corroborated by the Kin shi. In the geographical section of the Kin history, *Hu-tun* is mentioned as one of the nine places ruled by a *siang wen* (governor) and depending on the province of *Si king* (south-western part of Mongolia and northern Shan si).

[547] *Bishbalik*. See note 157.

chiefs of the *seven chou* (cities)[548] and the *eighteen pu* (tribes). The seven chou are enumerated as follows:

Wei-wu (the Uigurs, see farther on).	*Hui-fan.*	*Tze-ho.*
Ch'ung-te.	*Sin.*	*T'o.*
	Ta-lin.	

The names of the eighteen tribes are also given:[549]

1. *Ta huang Shi wei.*	7. *Ni-la.*	13. *Tsu-pu.*
2. *Ti-la.*	8. *Ta-la-ch'ui.*	14. *Pu-su-wan.*
3. *Wang-gi-la.*	9. *Ta-mi-li.*	15. *T'ang-gu.*
4. *Ch'a-ch'i-la.*	10. *Mi-rh-ki.*	16. *Hu-mu-sze.*
5. *Ye-si.*	11. *Ho-chu.*	17. *Hi-ti.*
6. *Pi-ku-te.*	12. *Wu-ku-li.*	18. *Kiu-rh-pi.*

Ta-shi spoke to the assembled chiefs as follows: "My ancestors had founded a vast empire, and had to endure many trials; nine emperors have successively reigned over it for two hundred years. Now the *Kin*, who are subjects of our dynasty, massacre our people and destroy our cities. Our emperor, T'ien tso, has been constrained to flee shamefully and abandon the empire, being continually in trouble. Now, relying on the justice of my cause, I have come to ask your assistance for the extermination of our common enemy and the re-establishment of our empire. I am sure you will feel compassion for our distress. Can you see without remorse the destruction of the temples of our tutelary genii? No doubt you will

[548] The Kang mu, in recording the same, says: "the seven *chou* at the western frontier."

[549] It seems that the tribes here mentioned occupied the western part and even the east of Mongolia. *Shi wei* (1) is a name applied since the fourth century to a considerable tribe, divided into many branches, and occupying the land near Lake Baikal. See "History of the Northern Wei" and "History of the T'ang." The above name means Great yellow Shi wei. *Ti-la* (2) are perhaps the *T'ie-le* of the T'ang History, in which name the *Telenguts* of Rashid may be traced. The *Wang-gi-la* (3) are perhaps the *Cuncrats*; *Ch'a-ch'i-la* (4) the *Djadjerats*; and *Mi-rh-ki* (10), the *Merkits* of Rashid. By *T'ang-gu* (15) it seems the *Tanguts* are meant. The same name appears in the geographical section of the Kin shi, province of Si king (see note 546). There we find also the name of a tribe *Wu-ku-li* (12). We shall see farther on, from the accounts of the Kin shi, that Ta-shi's influence extended over the whole of Mongolia.

help our emperor and father; nor will you look indifferently upon the misery of our people."

The assembled chiefs then raised an army numbering more than 10,000 horsemen, and Ta-shi appointed officers and furnished the troops with arms.

In the following year (1121), in the second month, on the day *kia wu*, Ta-shi, after sacrificing a black bull and a white horse to heaven, to earth, and to his ancestors, put his troops in order and set out for the west. He had previously sent to *Pi-le-ko*, king of the *Hui-hu* (Uigurs), a letter of the following tenor: "In times past, my ancestor, the Emperor T'ai tsu, who directed his army to the north, when passing through the city of *Bu-gu-han*,[550] sent an envoy to your ancestor, *Wu-mu-chu*, in *Kan chou*,[551] with the following message: 'Do you still cherish the remembrance of your ancient country? I shall occupy it for you if you wish to return.' But your ancestor thanked the emperor, saying that his people had left their ancient abodes for more than ten generations, that all were quite happy in their present country, and that there was no desire to return to their original patrimony. This proves that we have been for a long time on good terms with your people. It is now my intention to advance westward to the *Ta-shi*,[552] and I ask permission to pass through your country. Do not entertain suspicion." Pi-le-ko having received this letter, immediately went to meet Ta-shi; and on reaching his encampment, three days were spent in entertainment. When Ta-shi started again, the king presented him with 600 horses, 100 camels, and 3000 sheep; and to prove his sincerity gave some of his sons and grandsons as

[550] *Boka Khan*, a famous khan of the Uigurs, who had his residence near the place where afterwards Karakorum was built. See, farther on, my notice of the Uigurs.

[551] The present *Kan chou fu* in Kan su.

[552] By this name the *Arabs* were known to the Chinese. See my pamphlet "On the Knowledge Possessed by the Chinese of the Arabs," &c., 1871.

hostages; and declaring himself a vassal of Ta-shi, accompanied the latter as far as the boundary of his realm.

Thereupon Ta-shi, proceeding farther to the west, vanquished all enemies he met on his road, maintaining peace with those who surrendered voluntarily. Thus the army advanced 10,000 *li*, overthrowing kingdoms and taking innumerable camels, horses, cattle, sheep, and goods. The power of Ta-shi's arms increased from day to day, and also the valour of the soldiers. When he arrived at *Sün-sz'-kan*,[553] he met the united army of all the western kingdoms, numbering 100,000 men, and commanded by the *Hu-rh-shan*.[554] The two armies were fronting one another at a distance of two *li* apart, when Ta-shi addressed his troops in the following terms: "We see before us a numerous host, but it wants an able commander. When they are attacked in front, the rear will fail to come to the rescue, and there can be no doubt our army will gain the victory."

After this he formed his troops in three divisions, ordering the princes *Siao Wa-li-la*, *Ye-lü Sung shan*, and others, at the head of 2500 men, to attack the right flank of the enemy, whilst the princes *Siao La-a-bu* and *Ye-lü Mu-sie* received orders to lead 2500 men against the left flank, and Ta-shi himself with the main body of the army, assaulted the centre. These three divisions rushed at the same time upon the *Hu-rh-shan*, whose army was completely defeated, and to an extent of ten *li* the ground was covered with dead bodies. Ta-shi with his army rested in Sün-sz'-kan ninety days. The king of the *Hui hui* (Mohammedans) came to offer his submission and brought products of his country as tribute. After this

[553] *Samarkand.* See note 195.

[554] *Hu-rh-shan* has some resemblance in sound with *Khorazm Shah. Kutb-eddin Mohammed*, 1097–1127, first assumed the title of Khorazm Shah. He was a vassal of the Seldjuks, who at that time reigned in Transoxiana and Ferghana. The Mohammedan historians, however, do not record a battle at Samarkand between the Kara Khitai and Khovarezm Shah or the Seldjuks; but they mention about fifteen years later a great defeat of the Seldjuk Sultan *Sangiar* of Khorasan by the Gurkhan of Kara Khitai. See note 587.

Ta-shi proceeded to the west as far as *Ki-rh-man*.[555] There all his officers, civil and military, assembled and proclaimed Ta-shi emperor. This happened on the fifth day of the second month of 1124 (according to the Kang mu, 1125). The emperor, who was then thirty-eight years old, assumed at the same time the title of *Go-rh-han*,[556] and the Chinese title *T'ien yu Huang ti*, the years of his reign being named *Yen k'ing*. Ta-shi bestowed also honorary titles upon his ancestors and his wife. After this he assembled the officers and spoke to them as follows: "We have made together a journey of 40,000 *li*; we have crossed deserts and suffered many hardships by night and by day. That you may share in my glory, I am about to grant honorary titles to your ancestors." He then conferred posthumous titles upon the ancestors of the prince *Siao Wa-li-la* and on those of forty-nine other distinguished officers. In the year 1126 Ta-shi conducted his army back to the east. After a journey of twenty days on horseback they reached a fertile land, where a capital was founded and named *Hu-sz' wa-rh-do*.[557] The name of the reign was then changed to *K'ang kuo*.[558]

In the same year *Siao Wa-li-la* was appointed commander-in-chief (I omit the other appointments mentioned in the Chinese text). An army of 70,000 horsemen was raised for an expedition to the east. After sacrificing to heaven a black bull and a white horse, Ta-shi ordered a banner to be set up, around which he assembled his troops, haranguing them in the following terms: "Our

[555] I do not believe that here *Kerman* in Southern Persia is meant, as Plath in his "Geschichte Ost-Asien's" suggests, but *Kermaneh*, a place situated between Samarkand and Bokhara, and frequently mentioned by the Mohammedan mediæval authors. The city still exists.

[556] *Gurkhan* of the Mohammedan authors. See note 578.

[557] Visdelou explains this name by "le fort palais." *Wa-rh-do* is evidently intended for "ordo," residence (see note 137). *Hu-sz'* has some resemblance to *hosun*, meaning "strength" in Manchu. For further particulars regarding the capital of the Kara Khitai, see note 583.

[558] The two characters mean "kingdom of peace." This was also an ancient Chinese name for Samarkand.

great *Liao* dynasty rose under difficult circumstances, and it was due to the merits of my ancestors (the great work) was accomplished. But their successors were addicted to pleasure and debauchery, and neglected the government of their people; when riots broke out and our empire was destroyed. Now I wish to conduct you back to the *So mo* (Mongolian desert) and to re-establish our ancient splendour. This is no country for me and my people to dwell in." Thereupon Ta-shi enjoined the commander-in-chief, Siao Wa-li-la, to move out, giving him the following instructions: "March out now; take care to reward merit and punish those who do not perform their duties. Try to share conscientiously with your troops fortune and misfortune; choose places rich in grass and water for encamping; before giving battle, take care duly to estimate the strength of the enemy. Be ever cautious not to draw down upon yourself a defeat." Thereupon the army moved out and made a march of more than 10,000 *li* without meeting with any success. They lost a great number of horses and cattle, and were constrained to return, the troops being exhausted. Ta-shi then said, "Heaven is not propitious towards me." He died in the tenth year of *K'ang kuo*, or A.D. 1135 (according to the Kang mu in 1136), having reigned twenty years.[559] He was canonised *Te tsung*.

When Ta-shi died, his son *Yi-lie* was not of full age, and his widow, by name *T'a-bu-yen*, called also *Kan t'ien huang hou*, was entrusted with the regency. The name of her reign was *Hien ts'ing*. Seven years later Yi-lie himself took charge of the government; and the name of his reign was *Shao hing*, which lasted thirteen years, 1142–1155. He ordered a census of the people over eighteen years old, when it was found that there were 84,500 families in all. After death he was canonised as *Jen tsung*. His son being still a minor, *P'u-su-wan*, the younger

[559] If we date his reign from 1124, the year he was proclaimed emperor he only reigned eleven years.

sister of the late emperor, undertook the regency, and reigned fourteen years, 1155–69. The name of her reign was *Ch'ung fu*, and her title was *Ch'eng t'ien t'ai hou*. She had married *Siao To-lu-bu*, the son of (the above mentioned) Siao Wa-li-la, but held illicit intercourse with her husband's younger brother, *P'u-gu-dji-sha-li*. She conferred upon her husband the title of *Tung p'ing wang*, but subsequently gave orders to kill him. Siao Wa-li-la, however, surrounded the palace with troops, and the empress was killed, together with her lover, by arrow-shots.

Dji-lu-gu, the second son of Jen tsung, was next proclaimed emperor. His reign was named *T'ien hi*, which lasted thirty-four years, 1169–1203. It happened in autumn of 1203, when the emperor was on a hunting excursion, he was made prisoner by *K'ü-ch'u-lü*, prince of the *Nai man*,[560] who had been lying in ambush with 8000 men. The latter then took possession of Dji-lu-gu's throne, adopting the dress and the customs of the Liao. But he left to the late emperor the title of *T'ai shang huang*, and to the empress the title *Huang t'ai hou*. As long as they were alive, K'ü-ch'u-lü visited them twice a day. Some time after Dji-lu-gu died, and with him the Liao dynasty became extinct.

Besides the above Chinese record regarding the Si Liao or Kara Khitai, many other fragmentary notices on the same subject may be found in Chinese literature, especially of the Kin and Mongol periods. I may quote some of them in order to complete my accounts from Chinese sources.

The Si Liao and Ta-shi's exploits are spoken of with

[560] *K'ü-ch'u-lü* is the *Guchluk* of Rashid. He was the son of *T'ai-yang*, khan of the Naimans, overthrown by Chinghiz. In the Yüan shi, Guchluk is termed *K'ü-ch'u-lü-han*. The Kang mu places the date of Guchluk's taking possession of the throne of the Si Liao at 1201, eighth month; but the Yüan shi states that he fled to the K'i-tan only in 1208, which latter date is in accordance with the statements of the Mohammedan authors.

some detail in the Pei shi ki, or the narrative of an envoy despatched by the Kin emperor to Chinghiz in 1220. A translation of it is found in the first part of this book. From the particulars the Kin envoy gives with respect to the peregrinations of Ta-shi, it appears that his way from Mongolia to Transoxiana led through the *Talki* defile, north of the present Kuldja. The diarist of Ch'ang ch'un's travels to the west, as well as the traveller Ch'ang Te, and Ye-lü Ch'u ts'ai in his narrative, all when passing through Turkestan mention the traces of the K'i-tan empire, as do also the European mediæval travellers Carpini and Rubruck.

Interesting notices throwing some new light on the Kara Khitai are found in the history of the Kin dynasty in one of the biographies, which I shall translate presently. The Kin (see note 574), after destroying the empire of the Liao or K'i-tan in Eastern Asia in 1125, and establishing their dynasty in Northern China, extending their power also over a great part of Mongolia, being apparently very uneasy about the foundation of a powerful Liao empire in Turkestan, did not let an opportunity slip of gathering information regarding it, and even sent envoys to them. The following account is translated from the biography of *Nien-ko Han-nu*, Kin shi, chap. cxxi., where some particulars of the intercourse between the Kin and the Kara Khitai in the twelfth century are recorded.

Nien-ko Han-nu was a meritorious officer in the army of the Kin, in the first half of the twelfth century. The emperor had granted him, as a mark of distinction, a harness, a bow and arrows, and a war-horse. After these statements the biographer gives a long notice of the Si Liao and Han-nu's mission to their court. This account reads as follows:—

At the time *T'ai tsu*[561] passed through *Kü yung*,[562]

[561] The first Kin emperor, *Aguta*, 1115–23.

[562] This is still the name of a defile and a fortress in it, north-west of Peking. The defile is more generally known to European residents at Peking under the name of the *Nan kou* pass.

Ye-lü Ta-shi, a prince of the Liao, withdrew through the defile of *Ku pei k'ou*.[563] (The capture of *Yen*, or Peking, by the Kin is recorded in the Liao shi under the year 1120.) But he appeared again, took *Feng sheng chou*,[564] and intrenched his troops twenty-five *li* east of *Lung men*.[565] This intrenchment was taken by *Lou shi* (a general of the Kin), and Ta-shi with his troops surrendered. *Ts'ung wang* (also a general of the Kin) captured the heavy baggage of the Liao emperor near the place called *Ts'ing chung*,[566] and on this occasion Ta-shi served as guide. The (Kin) emperor pardoned all the princes and soldiers who had been made prisoners, and ordered a communication to be made to Ta-shi that, notwithstanding his having been taken in arms, the emperor acknowledged his merits, especially on account of the service he had rendered in guiding the (Kin) troops. This happened in 1121; but subsequently Ta-shi fled, it was unknown in what direction.[567]

In the year 1124 a report was received from the chief of some tribes (in Mongolia) who had surrendered to the Kin, stating that Ta-shi had been proclaimed king in the northern regions; that his realm consisted of two provinces, a northern and a southern; that he possessed 10,000 cavalry horses, numerous herds and great riches in products. The emperor gave orders to continue the pursuit of the Liao prince, and not to neglect at the same time to procure authentic information about Ta-shi.

[563] An important defile (gate of the great wall) north-east of Peking.

[564] Now *Pao an chou*, north-west of Peking.

[565] There are several defiles of this name (Dragon-gate) in the mountains north and west of Peking.

[566] This happened in 1121, according to the annals of the Liao shi.

[567] With respect to Ta-shi's relations with the Kin, the historians of the Liao and the Kin are in contradiction; or at least the Liao shi does not say that Ta-shi had been made prisoner by the Kin, but only states that he repaired to the Liao emperor after the fall of Peking. The Kang mu records that *Ye-lü* Ta-shi, having been made prisoner by the Kin, near the defile of *Kü yung*, was released and sent by the Kin emperor to find the Liao emperor, who was wandering about in Southern Mongolia.

In the next year, 1125, one of the governors at the frontier reported a rumour that the *Hia* (Tangut empire) was in collusion with Ta-shi and plotting an invasion of the province of Shan si. The emperor again gave orders to inquire into the matter and at the same time to arm for war.

In 1129 a report came to hand from a general commanding in *T'ai chou* (in Eastern Mongolia), in which he notified that Ta-shi had already succeeded in taking the two military encampments situated in the regions of the northern tribes. He expressed his apprehensions with respect to the security of the imperial pasture lands which were situated not far from the above-mentioned places. The emperor was at first afraid that the tribes in the north might revolt if troops should be collected in those regions. However, in 1130, *Ye-lü Yü-ta*[568] and two other commanders were sent to pursue Ta-shi. They had been ordered also to raise troops from the tribes (in the north), but these tribes refused to obey. This expedition proceeded as far as the river *Wu-na* and then returned. Yü-ta made a report that Ta-shi was said to sojourn in the country of *Huo chou*,[569] and to be in collusion with the *Hia* (Tanguts).[570] Thereupon the emperor sent an envoy to the Hia to demand an explanation; but they replied that

[568] A prince of the Liao, who had deserted and entered the army of the Kin.

[569] *Huo chou* is the same as *Karakhodjo*, near Turfan.

[570] The Kang mu, in recording (*s. a.* 1131) the expedition of Ye-lü Yü-ta, states that he started with 10,000 men to look for Ta-shi, who was said to approach Huo chou. As the Kin did not put absolute trust in this general, his family were retained as hostages. He advanced as far as the city of *Ho tung*, north of the desert, more than 3000 *li* distant from *Yün chung* (the present Ta t'ung fu, in Northern Shan si). But this expedition missed its aim, and only devastated the provinces of Yen (Northern Chili), Yün chung, and Ho tung, which had to furnish the troops with provisions. The rumour spread about the approach of Ta-shi towards Huo chou in 1130, as reported in the Kin shi and the Kang mu, seems to have been in connection with the great but unsuccessful expedition sent by Ta-shi to the east about the same time. See above my translation of the account from the Liao shi.

they had heard nothing of Ta-shi, and that their country was not contiguous to Huo chou.

(In the Kin shi, annals, *s. a.* 1130, we read that the *Hui-hu* (Uigurs) of *Huo chou*, having captured *Sa-ba-ti-t'u-tie*, a partisan of Ye-lü Ta-shi, delivered him over to the Kin.)

In the year 1144, envoys from the *Hui-hu* (Uigurs) came to the court of the Kin to offer tribute, and they stated that Ta-shi was not then alive, but that his people dwelt in their (*i.e.*, the Hui-hu's) vicinity. Then *Han-nu* (in whose biography all these accounts are recorded) received orders to accompany the envoys of the Hui-hu to their country. He departed, and afterwards nothing more was heard of him.

Under the reign of Ta ting, 1160–90, a merchant of the Hui-hu, by name *I-si-lan*, arrived with three companions at the south-western frontier (of the Kin empire). These merchants gave the following statements: "Our native country is called *Dsou-gua* (the biographer adds that this is the name of a foreign tribe). The name of the capital is *Gu-sz'-o-lu-do*.[571] The people of this country are not of a warlike character, but are engaged in agriculture, and every year pay one-tenth of their produce to the government. Old men say that in times past, when the K'i-tan arrived, the people of Dsou-gua surrendered without offering any resistance. The encampment in which the K'i-tan live is so large that it takes half a day to ride round it.[572] A short time ago the ruler of the K'i-tan had sent *A-ben-sze*, his son-in-law, with 10,000 men to subdue the *Ye-bu-lien* and other tribes, but his expedition was not successful. The war, however, is not yet finished." The emperor ordered these Hui-hu to be settled near *Hien p'ing fu* (now T'ie ling hien in Southern Manchuria), where settlements of the Hui-hu had existed from olden times.

[571] Evidently the same as *Hu-sz'-wa-rh-do*. See note 557.

[572] Compare, farther on, the statements of Rubruck about the remains of the encampment of the Kara Khitai.

In the same year, *Sa-li-ya*, chief of the *Nien-ba-en*, and *Bo-gu*, chief of the *K'any li*,[573] and other tribes, sent envoys and begged to be admitted as vassals of the Kin emperor. They offered the seal given to them by Ta-shi and solicited a new seal from the Kin. The emperor gave orders to instruct the governor at the south-western frontier to send officers to those countries to inquire into the sincerity of the tribes; whereupon an envoy was despatched together with an interpreter. They saw Sa-li-ya, who maintained his sincerity, and from him they heard also of the fate of *Han-nu*. Sa-li-ya told them that many years ago the Kin emperor had sent an envoy, named Han-nu, by way of *Huo-chou* (Karakhodjo) to the dominions of Ta-shi. He had met the latter when he was on a hunting excursion, and had been asked by him why he did not get down from his horse. Han-nu had replied that he was the envoy of the Kin emperor, and that it was the place of Ta-shi to dismount in order to listen to the imperial message; upon which Ta-shi had ordered Han-nu to be put to death. Such was the information the envoy brought back to China.

I may finally quote a passage from the history of the Sung dynasty referring to the Kara Khitai. It is stated there, *s. a.* 1185: "In the second month of this year information was received from spies that *Ta-shi ling-ya*, the chief of the *K'i-tan* dynasty, had sent to the emperor of the Hia, asking permission to pass through his dominions in order to invade the Kin empire."

Let us turn now to the records of the Mohammedan historians regarding the Western Liao or Kara Khitai. See d'Ohsson, i. 441–443.

Rashid-eddin has gathered the following information with respect to this dynasty:—

[573] The *Kankly* of the Mohammedan authors, of which I shall speak more fully farther on.

After the sovereign of the *Churche*[574] had destroyed the empire of the Kara Khitai,[575] a prince of the latter, by name *Nushi Taifu*,[576] standing in high esteem in his

[574] The *Churche* of the Mohammedan authors are the same as the *Nü-chi* of the Chinese historians. The original spelling of the name by the Chinese was *Ju chen* (Klaproth's "Asia Polyglotta;" Plath's "Mandschurey," i. 107; Wassilyeff's "Hist. East. Asia," p. 41). They originally dwelt near the river Amur and were tributary to the K'i-tan. In the beginning of the twelfth century the Nü-chi revolted. The leader of this revolt is called *A-gu-da* in the Chinese annals. He won several victories over the K'i-tans, and in 1115 adopted the title of emperor, and gave his dynasty the Chinese name *Kin* (gold). His successor, *U-ki-mai*, accomplished the destruction of the K'i-tan empire in Manchuria, Mongolia, and Northern China in 1125, and succeeded also in conquering from the *Sung* (Chinese empire) all the provinces of Northern China. The boundary of the Kin empire to the south then was the *Huai* river. The *Kin* dynasty reigned in Manchuria, Mongolia, and Northern China more than a century. The Kin were overthrown by the Mongols in 1234. It is known that the Nüchi or Kin were the ancestors of the present Manchus. Their history is given in the *Kin shi* or Chinese history of the Kin.

The Persian chroniclers heard the name *Churche* probably from the Mongols, and this seems to have been the proper name of this nation. In the *Ta Kin kuo chi* or (Chinese) history of the great Kin nation, we find a statement that the Nüchi or Kin were properly called *Chu-li-djen*. M. Polo states (i. 227) that the Tartars originally dwelt in the north, on the borders of *Chorchu*. On page 335 he speaks again of the province of *Chorcha*, and no doubt means Manchuria.

In Benaketi's "Tarikh-i-Khata," which, as I have stated in note 532, is rather a plagiarism from Rashid's account, we find the following notices of the Churche (Müller Greiffenhag, "Abd. Beidav. Hist. Sin.," p. 15):—

"Contiguous to the Kidan or Kara Khitai there is another nation engaged in agriculture. The Kathayans call it *Niu che*, the Mongols and other people *Churche*. Among these people there was a man called *Huonyen Agudai*, whose cognomen was *Daigim*. The Mongols call him *Akuda*. He overthrew the dynasty of Kara Khitai in Khatai. The *Altun Khan* (golden khan) who lived at the time of Chinghiz, and the one who was destroyed under the reign of Ogotai Khan, both were called *Daigim*."

Huonyen is the Nüchi word for prince. *Wan-yen*, in constant use through the Kin history. *Daigim* is the Chinese *T'ai Kin* or Great Kin.

[575] Rashid terms the (original) Liao dynasty in Eastern Asia also Kara Khitai.

[576] D'Ohsson states (i. 163) that Rashid terms the founder of the Kara Khitai dynasty *Tushi Taifu*. Thus *Nushi* here must be a misprint in d'Ohsson's translation or a clerical error in the Persian MS. *Tushi* seems to be the correct reading, for it is nearer to *Ta-shi*, which, as we have seen, was the name of the founder of the Western Liao dynasty, according to the Liao shi. D'Ohsson explains—I am not aware on what authority—that

own country, fled first to the country of the Kirghizes, then passed to the *Uigurs*, and finally arrived in Turkestan. Being a man of high intelligence and capacity, he succeeded in rallying a considerable force in these countries and conquered the whole of Turkestan,[577] whereupon he took the title of *Gurkkan*,[578] meaning "Great Khan." These events took place in 1128 and 1129.[579]

After Nushi Taifu's death, his son, who was then only seven years old, was proclaimed gurkhan. He lived to the age of ninety-five, and died about 1213. When Chinghiz was born, the gurkhan was forty-four years old, and had already reigned twenty-five years.[580]

The author of the "Tarikh Djihan Kushai" gives more detailed accounts of the Kara Khitai. He records as follows :—

The khans of Kara Khitai derive their origin from *Khitai*. The founder of this empire had a great reputation among his own people, but had been constrained by political events to leave his native country. He took the title of *Gurkhan*, meaning "Universal Khan." It is reported that, when he left Khitai, he was accompanied by only sixty followers,[581] but some assert that he was at the head of a numerous army. These emigrants first reached the frontier of the *Kirghizes*, making incursions

Tai fu in Chinese means "général en chef." This view is not correct. *T'ai fu*, literally "great man," now-a-days means a physician, but only in the popular language. *Ta fu*, which likewise has the meaning of "great man," is an old term which was applied to civil officers.

577 In the article on the Kerait tribe Rashid states (Berezin, i. 98) that the gurkhans of Kara Khitai reigned over Maverannahar and Turkestan.

578 See note 556.

579 Four or five years earlier (1124), according to the Liao shi.

580 According to the Liao shi, Ta-shi was succeeded in turn by his son and grandson. The latter was on the throne thirteen years, 1169–1203. Thus Rashid has omitted one of the gurkhans; but he may be more correct than the Liao shi in stating that the last gurkhan of the Kara Khitai died about 1213. The Liao shi puts this event earlier. As to the dates referring to the history of the Kara Khitai given in the Yüan shi, the latter is in accordance with Rashid. See note 560.

581 Two hundred, according to the Liao shi.

upon their territories; but when the latter had taken measures to repulse the aggressors, the Kara Khitai withdrew to the country of the river *Imil*, where they founded a city, of which the ruins are still to be seen.[582] The tribes of the Turks submitted to the Khitan prince, who, after a short time, found himself at the head of 40,000 families. He then proceeded to *Belasagun*, a city which is now called *Gu-balik* by the Mongols.[583] The

[582] See note 313.

[583] According to the Tarikh Djihan Kushai (d'Ohsson, i. 433), the city of *Belasagun* had been founded by *Buku Khan*, sovereign of the Uigurs, in a well-watered plain of Turkestan with rich pastures. The Arabian geographers first mention Belasagun in the ninth or tenth century as a city beyond the Sihun or Yaxartes, depending on *Isfidjab* (Sairam, according to Lerch), and situated east of *Taras* (see notes 23 and 585). They state that the people of Turkestan considered Belasagun to represent "the navel of the earth," on account of its being situated in the middle between east and west, and likewise between north and south (Sprenger's "Poststr. d. Or., Mavarannahar"). Abulfeda, II. ii. 127, quotes, with respect to Belasagun, two authors of the tenth and twelfth centuries, according to whom it lay not far from Kashgar. We know from the record of the Arabian historiographer Ibn el Athir, who wrote at the close of the twelfth century, that Belasagun in the tenth and eleventh centuries was the capital of the khans of Turkestan. As we shall see farther on (see the article on the Uigurs), there is some reason to believe that this dynasty, known also under the name of the *Ilek khans*, was an Uigur dynasty, and that the khan of Belasagun, dethroned by the gurkhan of Kara Khitai, was an Uigur prince.

The Mohammedan chroniclers who notice Belasagun as the capital of Kara Khitai in the twelfth and in the beginning of the thirteenth century furnish only vague indications regarding its geographical position. But we find several notices in the Mongol and Chinese annals of that period which enable us to determine more precisely the proper position of the capital of Kara Khitai.

We have seen that, according to the Liao history, the founder of the Western Liao dynasty, or Kara Khitai, had established his residence twenty days' journey east of *Kermane* (the latter place being situated between Samarkand and Bokhara). This residence is named there *Hu-sze-wa-rh-do*. It appears further, from the reports above quoted of some Mohammedans who came to China from the country where the Western Liao then reigned, that the encampment of the latter was in the vicinity of a city, *Gu-sze-o-lu-do*. This latter name and *Hu-sze-wa-rh-do* are evidently the same. *Ye-lü-Ch'u ts'ai* (see the first narrative in Part I.) states that Hu-sze-wo-lu-do, the capital of the Si Liao, was situated west of the river *Ilie* (Ili). In the Yüan shi, chap. cxx., in the biography of *Ho-sze-mai-li*, it is stated that he was a man from the *Si yü* (Turkestan),

sovereign of this country was descended from *Efrassiyab* (a mythical king of the Turks spoken of in the ancient Persian chronicles), had lost his power, and had ceased to reign over the tribes of the *Karluks* and *Kankalis*, who even made incursions upon his territories. When the Kara Khitai approached his country, the sovereign sent envoys to their chief and invited him to take possession

a native of the city of *Gu-dse-wa-rh-do*, and a confidant of the *K'uo-rh-han* (gurkhan) of the Si Liao. I have little doubt that these names, applied by the Chinese authors to the capital of the Kara Khitai, are identical with Belasagun, which, according to the Tarikh Djihan Kushai, was called *Gu balik* in the days of the Mongols.

In the Yüan ch'ao pi shi we find a more precise indication of the position of this place. It is stated there that *Ung Khan* had fled (close of the twelfth century) to the gurkhan of the K'i-tan, who lived on the river *Ch'ui* (see Palladius' transl., p. 72; d'Ohsson, i. 53). This river of Russian Turkestan, *Chu*, or *Choo* of our maps, is still styled *Ch'ui* on modern Chinese maps (see note 250). It is mentioned in Ch'ang ch'un's itinerary. The valley of the Chu river is famed for its pastures (Kostenko's "Turkestan," i. 268). This fact agrees well with the statement of the Tarikh Djihan Kushai that Belasagun had been founded in a well-watered plain with rich pastures. I am inclined to suppose that the name of *Belasagun*, or *Balasgun* as it is sometimes spelt, is a corruption of *balgassun*, which in Mongol means city. It is not unlikely that the same word was used also by the Turkish tribes. The author of the Tarikh Djihan Kushai states that the Mongols designate Belasagun by the name of *Gu-balik*. It seems to me that this latter name bears some resemblance to *Gu-dse-wa-rh-do*, for balik and ordo (city and residence) have nearly the same meaning.

It is not improbable that ancient Belasagun was situated at the same place where, according to the T'ang history, the khan of one branch of the Western T'u küe (Turks) had his residence in the seventh century. It is stated in the T'ang shu that *Ibi Shabolo Shehu Khan*, who reigned in the first half of the seventh century, placed his ordo on the northern border of the river *Sui ye*. This river and a city of the same name are frequently mentioned in the T'ang annals of the seventh and eighth centuries, in connection with the warlike expeditions of the Chinese in Central Asia. *Sui ye* was situated on the way from the river *Ili* to the city of *Ta-lo-sz'* (Talas). In 679 the Chinese had built on the Sui ye river a fortress; but in 748 they were constrained to destroy it. (Comp. Visdelou in "Suppl. Bibl. Orient.," pp. 110–114; Gaubil's "Hist. de la Dyn. des Thang" in "Mém. conc. Chin.," xv. p. 403 *seqq.*).

In A.D. 629 and 630 the Buddhist monk *Hüan Thsang* proceeded from China to Samarkand by a route south of the Celestial Mountains, crossed this range in the *Ling shan* (ice mountain) or Musart defile, and arrived at the *Ts'ing ch'i* (limpid lake). The description he gives of this lake leaves no doubt that he passed by the lake *Issikul*. Five hundred *li* north-west

of his realm.[584] The Khitan prince then arrived at Belasagun, and the descendant of Efrassiyab abdicated, merely retaining the title *Ilk-Turkan*, or chief of the Turks. After this the gurkhan of Kara Khitai appointed governors in all the provinces of his empire, from *Kum-kidjik* to *Barserdjan*, and from *Taras* to *Tamidj*.[585]

of this lake he reached the city on the river *Su ye*, which was about six or seven *li* in circuit, and where the merchants from the surrounding countries congregate. Here was also the residence of *She hu*, the khan of the Turks (Stan. Julien, "Mém. s. l. Contrées Occid.," and "Vie de Hiouen Thsang"). The *Su ye* of the Buddhist monk and the *Sui ye* of the T'ang history are the same, and only the *Chui* or *Chu* river can be meant.

[584] Compare the report of the Mohammedan merchants found in the Kin shi and above translated, that *Gu-sze-o-lu-do* had surrendered to Ta-shi without offering resistance.

[585] With the exception of *Taras*, the places or countries here noticed are unknown to me. Concerning the latter place, I beg to refer to note 23, in which I tried to determine the position of ancient Taras from the fragmentary statements on it left by the Mohammedan authors. There can be no doubt that this city was situated on the river which still bears the name of *Talas*, and probably not far from the present *Aulie-ata*, on the great highway leading from the Ili river to Samarkand. The Buddhist monk Hüan Thsang, quoted in note 583, who proceeded by this way in A.D. 630, after leaving *Su ye* (the Chu river) came 400 *li* west to a well-watered country, which he calls *Ts'ien ts'üan*, or "thousand springs," and which on the south is bordered by snowy mountains, and on the other sides is level tableland. Going from the Thousand Springs westward 140 or 150 *li*, he came to the town of *Ta-lo-sz'*, which was eight or nine *li* in circuit, where merchants from all parts assembled and lived here with the natives.

Vivien de St. Martin, in his geographical notes appended to Stan. Julien's translation of Hüan Thsang's narrative, identifies *Ts'ien ts'üan* with a place, *Ming bulak*, south of Lake Karakul, thus carrying the traveller far north-west, and then locates his *Ta-lo-sz'* between the aforesaid lake and the Iaxartes. But this view is untenable. Ming bulak, meaning "Thousand Springs" in Mongol and other languages of the East, is a quite frequent name for places in Mongolia and Central Asia. It seems to me that the Thousand Springs of the Chinese traveller, bordered on the south by snowy mountains, whilst on the other sides all was level land, must be rather looked for somewhere on the northern slope of the high mountain range stretching from Lake Issikul westward, and marked on Russian maps as *Alexander's chain*. Many rivers and torrents, tributaries of the Chu, run down from these mountains, which are very rich in watercourses. The great highway from Kuldja to Tashkand or to Samarkand crosses all these rivers, and also the Talas at Aulie-ata. I have, therefore, no doubt that Hüang Thsang's way from the river Chu to *Che shi* (Tashkand) followed the same direct route along the northern slope

Subsequently he subdued the *Kankalis*.[586] His troops conquered *Kashgar* and *Khotan;* he sent also an expedition against the *Kirghizes*. *Bishbalik* was taken, and *Fergana* and *Transoxiana*[587] submitted. Thus the predecessors of *Osman* (of Samarkand) became the vassals of the gurkhan. Having accomplished these conquests, he sent his general, *Ernuz*, against *Khovarezm*, who carried fire and slaughter through that country. *Atsiz Khorasm Shah* offered his submission and paid a large tribute, when Ernuz withdrew. Some time after the gurkhan died, and his widow, *Keuyunk*, occupied the throne. She was subsequently convicted of an illicit intercourse, and killed together with her lover.[588] One of the two brothers of the deceased gurkhan was then placed on the throne.[589] The Sultan *Takash*, successor of Atsiz, continued to pay tribute to the gurkhan of Kara Khitai, and was on good terms with him. He also recommended his son and successor to follow the same policy in regard to the gurkhan, whose empire was a strong barrier to protect Khorasm from the dreaded people of the east.

of the Alexander's chain, and that his *Ta-lo-sz'* or Talas was near the present *Aulie-ata*. The city of *Ta-lo-sz'* is also frequently mentioned in the T'ang annals of the seventh and eighth centuries, generally together with *Sui ye* and *Ts'ien ts'üan*. It is stated there that the kingdom of Shi (Tashkand) used to keep a garrison at *Ta-lo-sz'*. We have seen that most of the Chinese mediæval travellers who in the thirteenth century went through Central Asia to Samarkand notice a river or a city of *Ta-lo-sz'* on their road.

[586] Compare the Chinese record above, that the *K'ang-li* offered the seal of the Kara Khitai to the Kin emperor.

[587] We read in the "Bibl. Orient." that the Seldjuk sultan *Sandjar* (who reigned over Khorassan and Transoxiana) conducted his host against the *Gurgiab* (gurkhan) of Kara Khitai (in 1141, according to De Guignes); but he was defeated, and the Kara Khitai captured his harem. Sandjar fled to *Termed*. See also Weil, "Khalifen," iii. 276.

[588] Evidently *P'u-su-wan*, the younger sister of the successor of Ta-shi, is meant. She was, in fact, killed together with her lover. See the Chinese records above.

[589] A grandson of Ta-shi was placed on the throne, according to the Chinese annals.

The Mohammedan authors do not record the names of the gurkhans of Kara Khitai, as the Liao shi does, but they give detailed accounts of the reign of the last gurkhan of this dynasty, who was dethroned by the Naiman prince *Guchluk*. The following are the chief points of the Mohammedan records on this subject, translated by d'Ohsson, i. 105, 166, *seqq.*:—

Guchluk, when his father, *Taiyang*, khan of the *Naimans*, had been slain, and the power of this tribe had been broken by Chinghiz, made a league with Tukta, khan of the *Merkits*, A.D. 1208. Chinghiz' army attacked Guchluk and Tukta, who had rallied their active forces on the river *Irtysh*, and defeated them near the river *Djem*.[590] Tukta was slain, but Guchluk escaped, and fled, at first to *Bishbalik*, then to *Kudja*, and finally arrived in 1208 in the dominions of the gurkhan of Kara Khitai,[591] where he found shelter and was well received at the court; the gurkhan even gave him his daughter in marriage. But some time after, Guchluk formed a plot to dethrone his benefactor. Having obtained the permission of the gurkhan to receive in his empire the remnants of the Naiman tribe, who were scattered over the countries of Bishbalik, Imil, and Kayalik, Guchluk

[590] In the Yüan shi, annals, *s. a.* 1208, the same events are recorded; but the river where the battle took place is not mentioned. The war between the Mongols and Guchluk and Tukta is also spoken of in chapter cxxii., biography of *Ba-rh-dju a-rh-te-te-gin*, king of the Uigurs. There the river, where Guchluk and Tukta were defeated, is termed *Ch'an*. In the biography of Su-bu-t'ai (ibidem, chapter cxx.), the same river is called *Ch'en* or *Shen*. In the Ts'in cheng lu, the same name reads *Ts'ien*. Probably one of the affluents of the Upper Irtysh in the Mongol period had a similar name.

[591] Regarding *Bishbalik*, see note 157. It was the capital of the Uigurs. D'Ohsson identifies Kudja with *Kucha* in Eastern Turkestan. The Yüan ch'ao pi shi (Pallad. transl., 110) states that *Guchuluk*, after losing the battle (on the river Djem), fled through the countries of the *Wei-wu* (Uigurs) and the *Kharlu* (Karluks) to the river *Ch'ui*, where he made a league with the gurkhan of *Kara kita*. The date, 1208, given by the Mohammedan authors for the arrival of Guchluk in Kara Khitai is in accordance with the Yüan shi.

collected a considerable force, consisting of Naimans and Merkits, and entered into league with Mohammed, sultan of Khovarezm, and Osman, prince of Samarkand, both vassals of the gurkhan. Mohammed and Osman attacked Kara Khitai, and Guchluk tried at the same time to take the capital, *Belasagun*. But his troops were defeated by the Kara Khitai near the river *Chinbudje*, and Guchluk was obliged to retreat. In the meantime, the troops of Mohammed and Osman had entered the dominions of the gurkhan and gained a victory over him beyond the city of *Taras*, when Guchluk, taking advantage of this event, succeeded in dethroning his father-in-law. This happened in 1211 or 1212, two years after which the old gurkhan died. He was, however, treated with great respect by Guchluk to the end of his days. Having strengthened his authority on the throne of Kara Khitai, Guchluk marched against *Ozar*, prince of *Almalik*, made him prisoner, and ordered his execution. The people of *Kashgar* and *Khotan*, who had withdrawn their allegiance from the usurper, were reduced to obedience by Guchluk's troops, who during several years devastated these countries. Guchluk was a cruel persecutor of Islam. He was himself a Nestorian Christian, as most of the Naimans were; but after his marriage with the daughter of the gurkhan he became a Buddhist.

The Arabian historian *Ibn el Athir*, who wrote at the close of the twelfth century, has left an account of the military doings of the founder of the Kara Khitai dynasty, of which I may give here a brief sketch borrowed from Grigorieff's Russian translation in his "Eastern Turkestan," p. 290. I may notice that Ibn el Athir is the first Mohammedan author to mention the Kara Khitai. His record reads as follows:—

In the year 522 (A.D. 1128) there appeared at the frontier of *Kashgar* the *gurkhan* of *Sin* (China), nicknamed "the cripple." He was at the head of an immense army. *Ahmed*, son of Hassan, who at that

time ruled over Kashgar, collected his troops and marched out against the enemy; but he was defeated and died. When the gurkhan had left Sin and arrived in Turkestan, he found there many of his countrymen who had previously emigrated. They were in the service of the khans of Turkestan, who had intrusted them with the defence of the eastern frontier. On the arrival of the gurkhan, all these people went over to him, and with their aid the latter succeeded in establishing his authority over the whole of Turkestan. But the gurkhan did not interfere with the administration of the conquered countries. He contented himself with imposing taxes upon the people, collecting one dinar from each family, and obliged the rulers who had surrendered to attach to their girdles a certain silver tablet, as a mark of their subjection. Subsequently the gurkhan directed his host to Maverannahar, then ruled over by *Mahmud*, son of Mohammed. This prince advanced from *Khodjend* to meet the enemy. A battle took place in the month of Ramazan of 531 (A.D. 1137). Mahmud was defeated and put to flight. He returned to *Samarkand* and then raised the whole country to appear in arms. He asked also the assistance of the (Seldjuk) sultan *Sandjar*, imploring him to invite all Mohammedans in order to make a joint attack on the infidels. Thereupon auxiliary forces arrived from Khorassan, Mazanderan, Sedjestan, Ghazna, and other Mohammedan countries. In 1141 Sandjar himself crossed with his troops the *Amu* river. But the gurkhan on his part had also gathered a vast army, consisting of *Turks*, people from *Sin* (China) and *Khata* (K'i-tans), and other countries. He met Sandjar at *Katwan*, and forced him to withdraw into the valley of *Dirgham*, where, in 1142, a decisive battle was fought. The Mohammedan army was totally defeated. Sandjar escaped, but his wife, a daughter of Arslan Khan, was made prisoner, together with a number of the Mohammedan chiefs. After this the Khata people and the Turks established their power in

Maverannahar. The gurkhan remained there till 1143, when he died. He was succeeded in the government of the empire by his daughter, who soon died. She was succeeded by her mother, and finally Mohammed, the son of the gurkhan, reigned.

The Mohammedan authors give the following short accounts of the destruction of the Kara Khitai empire by the Mongols (d'Ohsson, i. 172).

When Chinghiz prepared his expedition to the Mohammedan countries in Western Asia, he despatched a body of 20,000 men, under the command of the *Noyen Chebe*,[592] in 1218, against *Guchluk*, who at that time was in *Kashgar*. When Chebe approached, Guchluk fled. The Mongol general proclaimed religious liberty, and the people massacred Guchluk's soldiers. After this the Mongols pursued Guchluk and captured him in the mountains of *Badakhshan*. Chebe ordered him to be beheaded.

The records of the Chinese and Mongol authors regarding the same events, although only fragmentary, corroborate the statements of the Persian historians, and even throw some new light on the subject.

In the Yüan shi, chap. cxx., biography of *Ho-sze-mai-li* (Ismael ?), it is stated that he was a man from the *Si yü* (Turkestan), a native of *Gu-dse-wa-rh-do* (the capital of the Kara Khitai), and a confidant of the *k'uo-rh-han* (gurkhan) of the *Si Liao*. He governed the two cities *Ko-san* and *Ba-sze-ha*, subject to Gu-dse-wa-rh-do. At the time

[592] The word *no-yen* as a Mongol title occurs frequently in the Yüan shi. Kovalevsky, in his Mongol Dictionary, translates it by "prince, master, lord, commander." *Chebe* was a famous general in Chinghiz' army. His name will be met frequently in these pages. According to Rashid, who narrates some anecdotes in the life of this hero, he belonged to the Mongol tribe of *Yissuts* (d'Ohsson, i. 172 ; Berezin, i. 208). In the Yüan shi, where mention is repeatedly made of his exploits, the name is written *Dje-bo* or *Dje-bie*. It is strange that his biography has been omitted from the Yüan shi, whilst those of all the illustrious men of the Mongol period are found there.

of Chinghiz Khan's expedition to the west, he surrendered, together with the chiefs of these cities,[593] and then entered the avant-guard commanded by *Dje-bie* (see note 592). When the *Naiman* (in Kara Khitai) were attacked, Hosze-mai-li killed their khan, *K'ü-ch'u-lü* (Guchluk), and Dje-bie ordered him to take the head of the victim and carry it through the cities of his empire (*i.e.*, Kara Khitai). After this the cities of *K'o-shi-ha-rh* (Kashgar), *Ya-rh-k'ien* (Yarkand), and *O-duan* (Khotan) surrendered to the Mongols.

The Yüan ch'ao pi shi states (Pallad. transl., cxxxi.): Chinghiz ordered *Dje-bie* to attack *Guchuluk*. Dje-bie pursued him to the country called *Salikhkun*, killed him, and then returned. This event is erroneously recorded there under the year 1206. But the Ts'in cheng lu agrees with Rashid in placing the destruction of the empire of Kara Khitai under the year 1218. It is stated there (Pall. transl., cxci.) that Chinghiz sent the great general *Dje-bie* against *K'ü-chu-lü ko-han*. He pursued him to the place *Sa-li-huan*,[594] were the latter was defeated.

Plano Carpini in his narrative (A.D. 1246) repeatedly mentions the Kara Khitai, and reports about their destruction as follows (p. 648):—

"Naimani etiam et *Kara-Kitai*, id est *Nigri Kitai*, ex adverso plurimi in quandam vallem strictam inter duos montes, per quam nos euntes ad imperatorem eorum

[593] Perhaps *Ko-san* and *Ba-sze-ha* are the same as M. Polo's *Casem* and *Pashai* (i. 160, 172). The first he notices as a province in Badakhshan, the second was situated south of Badakhshan. Ibn Batuta speaks in the same regions of a mountain, *Bashai*. It is true it is nowhere stated that Badakhshan was subject to the gurkhan of Kara Khitai; but it is not impossible that it was so, especially as, according to the Persian authors. Guchluk, when pursued by the Mongols, fled to Badakhshan.

[594] As the Mohammedan authors record that Guchluk was captured and executed in Badakhshan, we have to look for *Salikhun* or *Salihuan* in that country.

transivimus[595] similiter convenerunt: et commissum est prœlium, in quo Naimani et Kara-Kitai a Mongalis sunt devicti, et major pars eorum fuit occisa, et alii qui evadere non potuerunt in servitutem redacti sunt."

It may be concluded from Carpini's report that the battle of which he speaks took place in Western Turkestan.

Rubruck, who passed through the country of the Kara Khitai a few years later, in 1253, states (p. 259) that the *Kara Katay* or *Nigri Katay* inhabited in former times some mountain pastures, which he passed through; and in certain plains among these mountains their *Coir chan* (gurkhan) dwelt, who was deposed by a Naiman chief (Guchluk). On p. 280 he mentions the country of the Kara Katay again among the mountains, with a great river in it (the *Chu* river), and a valley where there were old entrenchments of earth, over which the plough had passed, &c.

[595] The Chinese traveller Ch'ang Te (see Part I. No. iv.) passed between the two mountains *I-tu*, in the country of the *K'i-tan* or Kara Khitai, four days before he reached Talas. See also note 325.

THE UIGURS.

The name *Uigur* was applied in ancient times to an Eastern Asiatic nation of Turkish race, who for centuries had played an important *rôle* in the history of Eastern and Central Asia. We know from Chinese sources that in the seventh century they had their abodes in the north-western part of Mongolia, and in the eighth century their khans dwelt near the place where, in the thirteenth century, the Mongols built Karakorum. It seems that at the time of the climax of their power the Uigurs extended their rule far to the west, and their dominions reached even Transoxiana. In the middle of the ninth century their empire in Mongolia was destroyed by the Kirghizes, and they were dispersed. But some time later there were again Uigur kingdoms in Kan chou, at the north-western frontier of China and in the country north and south of the Celestial Mountains. In the latter tracts especially, the Uigurs where known to the Mongols, in the days of Chinghiz Khan, and to the Chinese, as *Wei-wu-rh*. Very little is known about the Western Uigurs in Central Asia. The Mohammedan authors of the eleventh and twelfth centuries seem to comprise them under the general name of Eastern Turks. The name *Uigur* is first found in the writings of the Mohammedan authors in the thirteenth century ; and in the same period the name *Wei-wu-rh* first appears in the Chinese-Mongol annals. Before that time the Chinese termed the Uigurs *Hui-ho*, by which name, as we shall see, the Chinese historians of the Mongol period generally designated the Mohammedans.

As the Uigurs originated from Eastern Asia, we have of course to look for their history to the Chinese historical records, where bulky articles are devoted to this nation. It is not my intention here to give a complete translation of these accounts, which would be very tedious to the reader. The history of the Uigurs from Chinese sources has long been made accessible to European savants. A good translation of the most important of these records has been given by Visdelou in the "Suppl. "Bibl. Orient." Father Hyacinth, in his work the "Nations of Central Asia" (in Russian, 1851), gives the most detailed information regarding the history of the *Hui-ho* or Uigurs, translated from the Chinese annals. But these accounts conclude with the ninth century. Besides these, Klaproth has written a series of very able articles on the Uigurs and their history and language, in which he proves convincingly that the *Hui-ho* of the Chinese authors, anterior to the Mongol period, are identical with the Uigurs; that the idiom of this race belongs to the stock of the Turkish languages; and that the Mohammedan authors are right in classing the Uigurs among the Eastern Turks. See Klaproth's "Fundgruben des Orientes," 1811; "Sprache und Schrift der Uiguren;" his "Verzeichniss der Chines. und Mandschur. Bücher der Königlichen Bibliothek in Berlin," 1822; his "Asia Polyglotta," 1823; his "Tableaux Hist. de l'Asie," 1826; and his "Mém. Rel. à l'Asie," ii. 301 *seqq.*, 1826.

Accounts of the Uigurs and their language are also found in Vambery's "Uigurische Sprachmonumente und das *Kudatku Bilik*," 1870. The latter, written in Kashgar, in A.D. 1070, in the Uigur language, is a treatise in verse on the duties of a ruler to his people. Vambery gives a translation of this MS. and a vocabulary of the Uigur language.

Thus I may confine myself to a summary of the leading facts in the history of the Uigurs from Chinese sources; but I shall occasionally dwell longer upon topics

not previously published, and upon questions not yet satisfactorily elucidated.

In the History of the T'ang dynasty (A.D. 618–907) a long article is devoted to the *Hui-ho* or Uigurs (chap. cclvii. *a*). It is there stated that at the time of the Northern Wei (A.D. 386–558) the same people were called *Kao-ch'e* (the name may also be pronounced *Kao-kü*).[596] During the Sui dynasty (A.D. 589–618) they were known under the name of *Wei-ho*. They were sometimes also termed *Wu-ho*, *Wu-hu*, and *Yüan-ho*. Properly it was only one of the tribes of the Kao ch'e, called *Yüan-ho*, from which, according to the T'ang history, the *Hui-ho* derived their origin. They at first paid tribute to the khans of the *T'u-küe* (Turks), but in the beginning of the seventh century they revolted, together with three other tribes of the *T'ie-le*, declared themselves independent, and took the name *Hui-ho*. They elected *Sze-gin* their ruler. He had the title *T'e-gien*.[597] The name of his family was *Yo-lo-ge*. The dominions of the *Hui-ho* were then situated north of the *Sie-yen-t'o*.[598] The ruler had his residence on the river *So-ling*.[599] It was distant 7000 *li* from the capital of the T'ang (*Ch'ang-an*, the present Si an fu in Shen si).

Sze-gin's successor, *P'u-sa*, established his residence on

[596] In the history of the Northern Wei it is said that the *Kao ch'e* descend from the *Hiung-nu*. They originally dwelt south of the Mongolian desert and west of the Yellow River, but towards the end of the fourth century of our era they emigrated to the northern verge of the desert. *Kao ch'e* means "high cart." The ancient historians explain this name by the high wheels of their carts. They are sometimes also called *T'ie-le*, but properly the Kao-ch'e were only a branch of the great (Turkish) family of *T'ie-le*, who were divided into many tribes.

[597] *Teghin* was in ancient times the title of the rulers of the Turks; *e.g.* *Alp teghin*, *Sebeg teghin* of the Ghaznevid dynasty (tenth century).

[598] A powerful tribe of the T'ie-le (see note 596). Their abode was on the northern verge of the desert.

[599] The *Selenga* river, a south-western affluent of Lake Baikal.

the river *Tu le*.[600] In the year 629 he despatched an envoy to the emperor of China.

P'u-sa's successor, *Hu-lu Sze-li-fa Tu-mi-du*, subdued the tribe of *Sie-yen-t'o* (see note 589), crossed the mountain *Ho-lan-shan*,[601] reached the Yellow River, and in 630 sent an envoy to the emperor of China in acknowledgment of his supremacy; whereupon the Chinese considered the kingdom of the Hui-ho with the fourteen tribes of the *T'ie-le* (see note 596) as a vassal state. The territories occupied by these tribes all received Chinese denominations. Their rulers were considered Chinese governors. Thus the land of the Hui-ho tribe proper became the governorship of *Han-hai* (see note 9).

About twenty khans of the Hui-ho are mentioned in the T'ang history, and many particulars regarding their wars, especially with the *T'u-küe* (Turks), &c., are given there. I shall only speak of the most distinguished rulers of the Hui-ho.

Gu-li P'ei-lo came to the throne in 742. He took the title *Gu-du-lu P'i-k'ie-küe K'o-han*,[602] killed the khan of the *T'u-küe* (Turks) in 745, and destroyed their empire in Mongolia. He then ruled over the territories of the ancient *Hiung-nu*. His dominions extended to the east as far as *Shi-wei*,[603] and westward to the *Kin shan* (Altai mountains), whilst they were bounded on the south by the *Ta mo* (great desert). P'ei-lo established

[600] The river *Tula* or *Tola*, an affluent of the Orkhon, which discharges into the Selenga.

[601] This mountain bears still the same name on modern Chinese maps. It is the *Ala shan*, near the left bank of the Yellow River, visited by Przewalsky in 1871.

[602] *Kutluk* in Turkish means "happy." *K'o-han* is evidently intended for *khan*, which is the title of the Turkish sovereigns in Asia. In the "Bibliothèque Orientale" this term is translated by "grand et puissant seigneur." The Byzantine historians write Χαγάνος. I may observe that in the Chinese annals the title *khan* appears for the first time under the year A.D. 312. It is there stated that in this year the *Han*, by name *I-li*, of the tribe *T'o-ba* (afterwards the dynasty of the Northern Wei), gave assistance to the Chinese against the Hiung-nu.

[603] See note 549.

his residence between the *Wu-te-kien* mountains and the river *Kun.*[604] The Hui-ho nation at that time was divided into nine tribes, viz., *Yo-lo-go* (which was the tribe of the family of the khan), *Hu-du-go*, *A-wu-chai*, *Yo-wu-go*, *Du-lo-wu*, *Go-sa*, *Hi-ye-wu*, *Mo-go-sze-go*, and *Hu-wen-so*.

The Hui-ho were at first on good terms with China, but subsequently, when they grew stronger, they often disturbed the Chinese frontier by their predatory incursions. *Mo-yen-djo*, the successor of *P'ei-lo*, came to the throne in 756. He took the title *Go-le-k'o-han*. He was a valiant warrior, and gave assistance to the Chinese emperor against the rebellion raised by *An lu shan*. The emperor bestowed upon him a Chinese princess by name of *Ning kuo*. The princess was accompanied by a Chinese envoy to the court of the Hui-ho, where she was handed over to the khan. Mo-yen-djo died the year after this marriage, and the princess returned to China.

I-di-ghien, the successor of Mo-yen-djo, in 759 took the title *Mou-yü k'o-han*. Before his accession to the throne a Chinese princess had been given to him in marriage, and after her death in 768 he married another Chinese princess, who survived him, and then lived for many years apart from the court of the Hui-ho. She died in that country in 790. Mo-yü died in 779. His successor, *Ho-gu du-lu*, with the title *P'i-k'ie k'o-han*, reigned from 779 to 789. A year before his death he married a Chinese princess, *Hien an*, who lived twenty years at the court of the Hui-ho, and then died in 808, having been the wife of four khans successively.

In the year 788 the *Hui-ho* solicited the permission of the Chinese emperor to change their former name into *Hui-hu*, which would better answer to their warlike character (*hu* means "a falcon" in Chinese). The emperor

[604] As we shall see farther on, Rashid states that the Uigurs dwelt near the mountain of Karakorum, which was near the *Orkhon* river. One of their tribes was called *Utekien*. This latter name sounds like the Chinese *Wu-te-kien*. The *Kun* river may be identified with the Orkhon.

acceded to this request, and some years later the Hui-hu assisted the Chinese in their war against the *T'u-fan* (Tibetans) by expelling the latter from *Pei t'ing* (see note 157), which had been previously captured by the T'u-fan, while they sent the prisoners to the emperor of China. Again, in the year 822, a Chinese princess was given in marriage to a khan of the Hui-hu. Her name was *T'ai ho.* A Chinese envoy accompanied her to the residence of the khan, where she kept her own court and was assisted by two ministers.

In the meanwhile the north-western neighbours of the Hui-hu, the *Hia-gia-sz'* (or *Kie-gia-sz', Kirghizes*) had grown strong, and after harassing the Hui-hu by frequent attacks during about twenty years, they at length, in 840, captured and destroyed the residence of the khan of the Hui-hu. The khan was slain and his people were all dispersed. One of the ministers of the late khan, by name of *P'ang-t'e-le*, at the head of fifteen tribes (of the Hui-hu), fled to the *Ko-lo-lu* (Karluks). Some of them went to Tibet and Ansi. The rest of the Uigurs, thirteen tribes, emigrated to the south, and finally established themselves near the mountain *Ts'o tze shan*, where they elected a new khan. They then repeatedly disturbed the Chinese frontier; but in 847 the Kirghizes and the Chinese succeeded in dispersing them. The last khan fled to the west; and such of the people who were left went over to *P'ang-t'e-le*, who in the meantime had taken possession of *Kan chou* (in what is now Kansu) and of the cities west of the *Tsi* desert (see note 112). He was finally recognised as Khan by the emperor of China. The *Hui-hu*, however, could never again recover their strength. Such are the most noteworthy points of the accounts regarding the Uigurs given in the T'ang shu.

In the History of the Liao we find the following records regarding the intercourse of this empire with the Uigurs.[605]

[605] I may notice here a curious tradition recorded by Chinese authors, that in the time of their power the *Hui-hu* once made prisoner one of the

We read there, under the year 913, that the *Hui-hu* of *Huo chou* (see note 13) presented tribute to the Liao emperor. In 917 the Hui-hu (it is not said from what part) sent an embassy. Another embassy despatched by the Hui-hu (ruler) *Ba-li* arrived at the court of the Liao in 924, when A-pao-ki, the first Liao emperor, was encamped near the ancient city of the Hui-ho (Karakorum; see note 640). In the same year *Bi-li-k'o*, one of the governors appointed by *Wu-mu-dju k'o-han*, ruler of the *Hui-hu* of *Kan chou*, was captured (by the Liao), whereupon A-pao-ki sent one of his officers to the khan (compare about this mission the account of Ye-lü Ta-shi's expedition to the west, *supra* p. 242). In 925 an embassy from Wu-mu-dju arrived. In 932 the Hui-hu (ruler) *A-sa-lan* (Arslan) sent an embassy offering tribute. *Sub anno* 970 it is reported that the Liao emperor directed an envoy to the *A-sa-lan Hui-hu*. In 988 the same A-sa-lan Hui-ho offered tribute, and in 996 the Hui-hu (ruler) *A-sa-lan* despatched an embassy to the court of the Liao soliciting the favour of a marriage alliance; but the emperor refused. Several embassies from the A-sa-lan Hui-hu are recorded in the Liao shi during the eleventh century down to the year 1053. In 1008 the K'i-tan (or Liao) expelled the Hui-hu from

chiefs of the *K'i-tan* and forced him to tend cattle. I do not remember in what Chinese work I saw the original account, but allusion is made to this story in the narrative of *Wang Yen te*, who, towards the end of the tenth century, was sent by the Sung emperor to *Kao ch'ang* (the present Karakhodjo). He notices a valley through which he passed, where, according to tradition, the K'i-tan had tended the herds of the Hui-hu (Stan. Julien's "Mélanges de Géogr. Asiat.," p. 90). I notice this insignificant record, because it seems to me that the story M. Polo relates in two chapters (ii. 12–16) about the *Golden king* taken prisoner by Prester John and forced to look after cattle, might perhaps be traced back to this old Chinese tradition, M. Polo having merely changed the names. It is impossible to reconcile Polo's story with the history of the Kin (see note 574). A similar tradition appears in the Yüan ch'ao pi shi, according to which *Wang Khan* (Ung Khan or Prester John of M. Polo, i. 227) had been made prisoner, together with his mother, by the Tartars, who forced them to tend their cattle (Pallad. transl., p. 76).

Kan chou and made their khan *Ye-la-li* prisoner; but subsequently the Hui-hu defeated the K'i-tan. Twenty years later, in 1028, the *Hia*, or Tanguts, who had founded a powerful empire in the present Ordos, attacked the Hui-hu, and succeeded in annexing to their dominions *Kan chou*, *Kua chou*, *Su chou*, and other places belonging to the Hui-hu. During the reigns of Tao tsung, 1055–1101, and T'ien tso, 1101–25, the last emperor of the Liao dynasty, ten embassies of the Hui-hu to the court of the Liao are mentioned.

The Kin, who superseded the Liao in 1125, and then ruled over the northern part of China for more than a century, received also embassies from the Hui-hu. The Kin shi records an embassy sent in 1127 by the Hui-hu (ruler) *Ho-li k'o-han*, and another in the same year by the Hui-hu *Huo-la-san*. The last Uigur embassy in the Kin period is mentioned in 1172.

The Chinese dynasty of the Sung, who ruled over Middle and South China from 960 to 1127, also had frequent relations with the Uigurs beyond the north-western border of China. In chap. ccccxc. of the Sung History we find an article devoted to the *Hui-hu*. After a short *résumé* of the early history of this nation (as related above), the historiographer continues, that in the reign of Hui ch'ang (841–847) of the T'ang, the empire of the *Hui-hu* (in Northern Mongolia) was broken up owing to internal rebellions. The minister *P'ang-le* (P'ang-t'e-le in the T'ang shu, *vide supra*) fled to *An-si* (the present Turfan). Subsequently he was proclaimed *k'o-han*, and founded a new empire consisting of the territories of *Kan chou*, *Sha chou*, and *Si chou* (the same as Kao ch'ang or Karakhodjo). But the Hui-hu never again recovered their former power. During the Wu tai, period (the five short dynasties which succeeded the great T'ang), in the first part of the tenth century, several embassies of the Hui-hu were seen at the Chinese courts. These embassies continued during the Sung dynasty, in the tenth,

eleventh, and twelfth centuries. Some of them are stated to have been sent by the khans of *Kan chou* and *Sha chou*, others came from the Hui-hu of *Si chou*. The last Hui-hu embassy mentioned in the Sung annals arrived in the reign of Süan ho (1119–26).

In the same chapter of the Sung shi is an article on the country of *Kao ch'ang*, followed by the narrative of a Chinese envoy, *Wang Yen te*, despatched by the Sung emperor to that country in 981. A French translation of these accounts by Stan. Julien is found in the "Journ. Asiat.," 1847, ix. Julien translated from Ma Tuan lin; but this historian, who wrote in the early part of the fourteenth century, has copied the Sung history. At the time of the Han, more than a century B.C., there were north and south of the Eastern T'ien shan two kingdoms called posterior and anterior *Ch'e shi* (pronounced also *Kü shi* or *Kü sze*). In the days of the T'ang the same country was known under the name of *Kao ch'ang*, and in the year 640, when it became a Chinese province, the name was changed into *Si chou*. After the fall of the T'ang in the tenth century, Kao ch'ang was an independent kingdom occupied by the *Hui-hu*, with whom the Sung, and, as we have seen, also the Liao, carried on political intercourse. When Wang Yen te visited this country, its king was called *A-sz'-lan Han* (Arslan Khan), which name the Chinese historians correctly explain by *shi tze wang*, or Lion's king. His kingdom stretched to the west and south-west as far as *Ta shi* (dominions of the Arabs), *Po-sz'* (Persia), and *Si t'ien* (Western Tibet), and bordered to the south on *Yü t'ien* (Khotan). The history of Kao ch'ang in the Sung shi concludes with the tenth century.

In the eleventh century the Sung emperors received embassies from the *Hui-hu* of *Kui-tze*. The name of a realm, Kui tze, appears already in the Han histories. In the T ang period it was also called *K'ü tze* and *K'ü chi* (Hüan Thsang's travels in the seventh century). It

was situated west of Kao ch'ang, in Eastern Turkestan. The Chinese identify it with modern *Kucha*, as did also Klaproth, Stanislas Julien, Hyacinth, and others. The article on Kui-tze in the Sung shi, chap. ccccxc., states that this place or territory in the eleventh century belonged to the *Hui-hu*. We are further told that their ruler there is called *Shi tze wang* (Lion's king, Arslan Khan, *v. s.*), and that he is dressed in yellow garments. From Kui-tze (the residence of the khan) to the dominions of the *Ta-shi* (Arabs) in the west they reckon sixty days' journey ; to the empire of the *Hia* in the east, ninety days. The Hui-hu of Kui-tze are also called Hui-hu of Si chou. From the year 1029 to 1097 they repeatedly sent envoys presenting tribute to the court of the Sung. From these statements it would seem that the Uigurs of Kao ch'ang or A-sz'-lan Hui-hu, who maintained political intercourse with China in the tenth century, subsequently transferred their head-quarters westward to Kucha.

It may be gathered from the above abstracts, drawn from Chinese history, that after the destruction of the Uigur empire in Northern Mongolia in the middle of the ninth century, and the dispersion of this nation, the remains of them, who had migrated to the south, nevertheless succeeded to a certain degree in recovering their power, and founded two distinct kingdoms, frequently mentioned in the Chinese annals from the tenth to the twelfth century. One part of them, the *A-sz'-lan Hui-hu* of *Kao ch'ang* of the Chinese authors, settled in the land on the eastern spurs of the T'ien shan mountains,and their realm is reported to have bordered on the west upon Persia and the dominions of the Arabs. Another Uigur kingdom existed during this period on the north-western border of China, and occupied the territories of *Kan chou, Kua chou, Sha chou,* and other places in the desert.

Klaproth ("Tableau Hist. de l'Asie") considers the country north and south of the eastern T'ien shan, the *Che-shi* or *Kü-sze* of the Han, the *Kao ch'ang* of the T'ang

and Sung, to have been the original seat of the Uigurs more than a century B.C. Klaproth may be right in supposing that the Uigurs dwelt in these regions at so early a date, but no corroboration of this view can be found in Chinese history. No mention is made of Uigurs living in Che-shi or Kao ch'ang in the histories of the Han or the T'ang. They are first noticed after their emigration from the north (ninth century) in that country in the Sung history, which states, in the above-quoted article on Kao ch'ang, that the latter is also called "the country of the *Hui-hu*," because many Hui-hu are settled there.

In the Yüan shi we read again of the Uigurs, but now they are mentioned by another name. The Chinese history of the Mongols terms them *Wei-wu-rh*,[606] and applies this name to the people living north and south of the eastern spur of the T'ien shan. Their principal seat then was *Bie-shi-ba-li* (Bishbalik; see note 157). Another city of importance there was *Ho-la-ho-djo* (Karakodjo, the same as *Huo chou*, and *Kao ch'ang*, near the present Turfan; see note 13). The accounts of the Uigurs found in the Yüan shi consist generally of fragmentary statements scattered over the whole work, but met with especially in the biographies of distinguished Uigurs in the service of the Mongol emperors. Interesting details regarding their ancient history are given in chap. cxxii. in the biography of *Ba-rh-djû a-rh-t'e di-ghin*,[607] prince of the Uigurs in the days of Chinghiz. As the traditions related there show a remarkable coincidence with the accounts of the Mohammedan authors, and as the Persian historians profess to have derived their information concerning the Uigurs from the annals of this nation, there can be

[606] It is not, however, in the Yüan shi that the name *Wei-wu-rh* appears for the first time. In the Liao History, chap. lxix., where the tribes tributary to the K'i-tan are enumerated, we find among them the city of (the) *Wei-wu-rh*. In chap. xxx., where the wanderings of Ye-lü Ta-shi are recorded, *Wei-wu* is mentioned among the seven cities which had sent their chiefs to Ta-shi. See also note 163, Ch'ang ch'un's travels.

[607] Compare note 597 about the title *teghin*.

no doubt that the biographer of the Uigur prince was also acquainted with the historical records of the Uigurs. The biography of *Ba-rh-dju* reads as follows:—

I-du-hu [608] is the title of the kings of *Kao ch'ang*, who in former times dwelt in the country called *Wei-wu-rh*. There was in that country (where the Uigurs originally lived) a mountain called *Ho-lin*,[609] from which two rivers took their rise, the *T'u-hu-la* and the *Sie-ling-k'o*.[610] It happened once in the night-time that a stream of light fell from heaven upon a tree standing between the two rivers; whereupon the tree began to swell like a pregnant woman, and after nine months and ten days gave birth to five boys. The youngest received the name *Bu-k'o han*. He was afterwards elected king and subdued the neighbouring countries.[611] The thirtieth of his successors [612] was called *Yü-lun di-gin*. He was valiant and powerful, and frequently engaged in war with the T'ang emperor, who tried to form an alliance with him by marriage. A Chinese princess named *Kin lien* (golden lotus) was given in marriage to *Go-li di-gin*, the son of *Yü-lun*. She lived near Ho-lin, at a place called *Bie-li-bo-li-da*, meaning "the hill where the spouse lives." There was also another mountain called *T'ien-ko-li yü-da-ho*,[613] meaning "mountain hill of heavenly reason." South of it stood a mountain *Hu-li-da-ho*,[614] or "mountain of happiness." When the envoy of the T'ang arrived at the

[608] The same title reads *I-du-hut* in the Yüan ch'ao pi shi, and *Idikut* in the Djami ut Tevarikh.

[609] *Ho-lin* is the Chinese name for *Karakorum* (see note 304). Rashid-eddin also notices a mountain of this name. In speaking of the ancient territory of the Wei-wu-rh, the biographer means the country where Karakorum was situated.

[610] Evidently the rivers *Tola* and Selenga; see notes 599, 600.

[611] *Bu-k'o han* seems to be the same as the *P'i-k'ie k'o-han* of the T'ang history, *v. supra*, p. 239.

[612] Thirty seems to be a misprint.

[613] *Tengri* in all Turkish dialects means "heaven;" *yuz* = modus, ratio; *tagh* = mountain (Klaproth).

[614] *Kol* in Turkish = "accident heureux" (Klaproth).

frontier of the Wei-wu-rh, he was told that the supremacy of Ho-lin depended on the possession of the mountain of happiness; if the T'ang could destroy it, the power of the Wei-wu-rh would be broken. The Chinese envoy accordingly asked from the khan of the Wei-wu-rh merely this mountain as a price for the Chinese princess given in marriage; to which the khan agreed. As the hill was big, the Chinese made a great fire around and then poured vinegar on it. When it had been broken, it was placed on carts and carried away to China. Subsequently beasts and birds began to utter plaintive cries predicting mischief. Yü-lun died seven days after, and the empire was troubled by the outbreak of rebellions and calamities of all kinds. Several generations later, the dynasty of the Wei-wu-rh was extinguished, and the people were compelled to emigrate.[615] They removed their abodes to *Kiao chou*, which is the same as *Huo chou*, and occupied the whole country comprised under the name of *Bie-shi-ba-li* (Bishbalik).[616] Their dominions then stretched to the north as far as *A-shu*, and south as far as *Tsiu ts'üan*;[617] on the east they bordered upon *Wu-tun* and *Gia-shi-ha*,[618] and on the west were contiguous to *Si fan*.[619] There they dwelt more than 970 years,[620] to the time of Ba-rh-dju.

[615] Comparing this Uigur tradition with the statements in the T'ang shu on the same subject, we find that they agree in the chief points, although there are some differences between them respecting the names of the khans and the Chinese princesses. Besides this, the Uigur record presents some anachronisms. *Goli digin* is probably identical with the *Go-le k'o-han* of the T'ang shu.

[616] See notes 13 and 157.

[617] The name of a district established under the Han dynasty in the second century B.C. The present *Su chou* in Kan su.

[618] Probably *Khotan* and *Kashgar* are meant. But there is some confusion as to the position assigned to these countries in the above account.

[619] *Si fan* means "western foreigners;" but this name denotes generally, since the days of the Ming at least, and perhaps earlier, the north-western part of Tibet.

[620] There is evidently a mistake again in the figure. The Uigurs were expelled from Northern Mongolia in the middle of the ninth century, and Bardju lived in the beginning of the thirteenth century.

Ba-rh-dju was a vassal of the *K'i-tan* (Kara Khitai) but after hearing (in 1209) that Chinghiz was about to move on an expedition to *So fang*,[621] he ordered the officers of the K'i-tan who where stationed in his country to be slain, and sent to Chinghiz to offer submission. The emperor then sent envoys to the *I-du-hu*, who was much delighted, and despatched another embassy to Chinghiz with the following answer: "Your servant has heard of your majesty. I hate the K'i-tan, and for a long time I have entertained the desire to submit to your power. Now that the message of your highness has reached me, I am happy to have an opportunity of accomplishing my desire; and I shall rejoice to hear that all nations have acknowledged your majesty's supremacy."

Chinghiz at that time attacked *T'ai-yang han*[622] and *T'o-t'o*.[623] When the latter had been slain, his four sons [624] fled with the head of their father to the river *Ye-rh-di-shi* (Irtysh; see note 5). Then Ba-rh-dju joined (the Mongol army) and defeated and killed the four sons in a battle on the river *Ch'an* (or *Ts'an*).[625] After this he sent envoys with valuable presents to the emperor; and when Chinghiz was encamped on the river *K'ie-lu-lien* (Kerulun; see note 116), the I-du-hu arrived in person (in 1211, in spring, according to the annals of the Yüan shi), and solicited permission to make a present of horses and dogs to the sons of the emperor. Chinghiz was moved by the I-du-hu's words, bestowed upon him his daughter *Ye-li-an-dun*,[626] and received him as a son.

[621] *So fang* means "the northern regions" (of China).

[622] The khan of the *Naimans*.

[623] *Tukhta*, chief of the Merkits (Rashid). See note 590. The Merkits are termed *Mie-rh-ghi-de* in the Yüan shi.

[624] The names of the four sons of *T'o-t'o* are given in the text, viz., *Huo-du*, *Ch'i-la-wen*, *Ma-dja-rh*, *T'o-sa-gan*. Rashid enumerates (Berezin, i. 73) six sons of the Merkit chief: *Khudu*, *Djilaun*, *Tusa*, *Hultugan-Merghen*, *Tukius*, *Djiuk*.

[625] See note 590.

[626] In the Yüan ch'ao pi shi the name of this princess reads *Alche Altun*. Rashid calls her *Aladji bighi* (Berezin, i. 128). The title *bie-ghi* for

Subsequently *Ba-rh-dju* accompanied *Dje-bie no-yen* (see note 592) in the war against *Han Mien-li so-tan*, the chief of the Mohammedans.[627] He distinguished himself at the siege of *Ni-sha-bu-li* (Nishapur), and (after returning from the west) took part in the expedition to *Ho si* (the Tangut empire; see note 518). He had previously crushed a rebellion of ten thousand men of his troops, who had been unwilling to submit to the new institutions. After his death the title of *I-du-hu* passed successively to his son, grandson, &c. (I omit the details regarding his successor.)[628]

There are many other biographies in the Yüan shi devoted to Uigurs of eminence in the service of the Mongol emperors. I shall give their names, as they may perhaps present some interest.

Chap. 124. *Ha-la-yi ha-ch'i bei-lu.* In this biography some details are found concerning the country of the Uigurs and their intercourse with Kara-Khitai.—*A-lien t'ie-mu-rh.*—*T'a-t'a-t'ung-k'o.* He was at first minister at the court of the Naimans. His biography has been translated by Rémusat in his "Nouveau Mél. Asiat.," ii. 61.—*Yü-hu mi-shi, Li-hun mi-shi, Su-lo-hai,* sons of the former.—*Meng-gu-sze.*

Chap. 125. *Bu-lu hai-ya.* His father *Gi-t'ai hai-ya*; his grandfather *Ya-rh-ba ha-ya*; his son *Lien-hi-sien* has a separate biography in chap. 126.

Chap. 128. *A-li hai-ya.* He distinguished himself at the siege of Siang yang fu in 1272.

Chap. 130. *A-lu-hun sa-li.* His grandfather *A-t'ai sa-li.* His brothers *Wei-wu-rh sa-li* and *Dao-wa-ch'i sa-li.*

princesses occurs also in the Yüan shi. Compare chap. cix., table of the princesses, where another daughter of Chinghiz is styled *Huo-ch'en bie-ghi.* Rashid writes the same name *Hudjin bighi* (Berezin, i. 152), see also p. 261.

[627] *Khan Melik sultan* (?). It seems Mohammed Sultan of Khovarezm is meant.

[628] It is known that after Chinghiz' death the country of the Uigurs belonged to Chagatai's dominions. The Uigur princes probably used to be appointed governors there with the title *I-du-hu.*

Chap. 131. *I-hei mi-shi.* He was in the life-guard of Khubilai and took part in the expedition to Java.—*Bai-kiang,* from *Pei t'ing.*

Chap. 133. *Ye-sien-nai.* His father *Kien-hai-ya.*—*T'o-li-shi-guan.* His father *T'ie-k'o-shu.*

Chap. 134. *Si-ban.* His father *K'üe-li-bie wa-ch'i.*—*T'ang-jen-dsu.* His grandfather *T'ang-gu-dji.*—*Siao-yün-shi t'o-hu-lien.* His son *Ba-dan.*

Chap. 135. *Ye-gü-lien-ch'i hai-ya.*

Chap. 137. *A-li hai-ya* (not to be confounded with the man of the same name in chap. 128). His father *T'o-lie;* his brother *Ye-na.*

Chap. 141. *Ch'a-han t'ie-mu-rh* from *Pei t'ing.*

Chap. 195. *Bo-yen bu-hua di-gin.*—*Bu-lia-dun,* from *Pei t'ing.*

Chap. 202. *Bi-lan no-shi-li,* from *Pei t'ing.*

In the biographies of the following distinguished Uigurs of the Mongol period, *Kao ch'ang* appears as their native country:—

Chap. 135. *T'ie-k'o-shu.*—Chap. 144. *T'a-li-ma,*—*Dao t'ung.*—Chap. 195. *Ts'üan-p'u-an sa-li.*—*Bo-lo t'ie-mu-rh.*

Let us now turn to the western mediæval accounts of the Uigurs. They were not known by this name in Western Asia before the beginning of the thirteenth century or the Mongol period; but it may be assumed that the Arabs came in contact with these people at a much earlier time. The afore-mentioned Chinese envoy Wang Yen te informs us that at the end of the tenth century, when he visited the country of the Uigurs of Kao ch'ang, their empire extended to the west as far as the dominions of the Arabs and Persia. We know further from the Tarikh Djihan Kushai that the city of Belasagun (see note 583) had been founded by Buku Khan, sovereign of the Uigurs; and even in Chinese history we meet with an

allusion to the fact that the founder of the Kara Khitai dynasty had established his residence (on the river Chu, as we have seen) in a country inhabited by Hui-hu.

Reinaud, in the preface to his "Abulfeda," p. 360 *seqq.*, affords evidence that the Turkish race called *Tagazgaz* by the Arabian geographers of the ninth and tenth centuries is identical with the Uigurs, Mas'udi states that in his days (he died 956) the Tagazgaz were the most valiant, numerous, and best governed among the Turk tribes. Their empire extended from Khorassan to Sin (China). Their principal city was called *Kushan;* their king had the title *irkhan.* Mas'udi adds that the Tagazgaz were the only Turk tribe who professed the Manichean doctrine. Reinaud thinks that *Kushan* is *Kucha* in Eastern Turkestan; Barbier de Meynard identifies this name with *Kao ch'ang* of the Chinese annals. As to the doctrine of Mani (or Manes), I may observe that Wang Yeng te, in his narrative, notices in Kao ch'ang a temple of (devoted to) Mani (*Ma-ni sz'*), and served by monks from Persia, who have their particular rules, and who declare the books of the Buddhists to be heretical.

Ibn el Athir (1160–1233), in his Kamil-ut-Tevarikh, gives an account of the *Ilkhans,* or khans of Turkestan, who reigned there and in Transoxiana from the middle of the tenth century till 1213. De Guignes, Fraehn, Reinaud, and other Orientalists, take them to be an Uigur dynasty; and it seems they are right. Professor Grigorieff published in the Memoirs of the Russian Archæol. Soc., xvii., 1874, a paper on this dynasty, which he calls the *Karakhanids,* from the name of the first ruler, *Satuk Karakhan,* who embraced Islam. But the first distinguished sovereign among the Karakhanids was *Boghra Khan,* whose empire is said to have extended eastward as far as *Sin* (China). *Belasagun* was his residence. He ruled also over *Kashgar,* the capital of Turkestan (called also *Ordukend*), *Khotan, Karakorum,*

Taras, and *Farab* (Otrar). Boghra Khan made an expedition to Mavarannahar, captured Bokhara, and died on his way back to Turkestan in 993.

His successor, *Ilek Khan*, in 1008 superseded the dynasty of the Samanids in Mavarannahar, and established his authority over this country. He was succeeded by his brother *Toghan*. In the year 1017, we are told by the Arabian historiographer, a numerous army from *Sin* (China) appeared in Turkestan, and advanced as far as three stations from Belasagun. But Toghan collected his troops, defeated the enemy,[629] and pursued him for three months. On his return to Belasagun he died in 1018.

The next rulers enumerated are *Arslan Khan*, *Kadyr Khan*, *Arslan Khan*, and then *Boghra Khan*. In the reign of this latter the above-mentioned Uigur MS., the Kudatku bilik, was written. It is dated A.D. 1070, Kashgar.

In the reign of *Mahmud Khan* the Kara Khitai conquered Turkestan (Belasagun, Kashgar).[630] The Ilkhans continued to rule over Maverannahar (Samarkand, Bokhara) as vassals of the gurkhan of Kara Khitai. In 1213, *Osman*, the last of these khans, was killed by Sultan Mahmud Khorazm Shah, who then took possession of these provinces.

As has been stated above, the name *Uigur* occurs in the Mohammedan records first in about the middle of the thirteenth century, although it was known probably earlier in Western Asia; it is applied to that branch of the Uigurs known to the Chinese and Mongols under the name of *Wei-wu-rh*, and established on the eastern spurs of the T'ien shan (Bishbalik, Karakhodjo). The state-

[629] This event is also recorded in the Byzantine annals. Comp. Muralt's "Essai de Chron. Byzant.," i. p. 590, *s. a.* 1017, where we read: "Toghan defeats the Turks near Belasagun." The Chinese annals do not mention this expedition, which probably was undertaken by the Eastern Uigurs, not by the Chinese.

[630] This happened in about 1124, according to the Chinese annals.

ments of the Mohammedan authors regarding the Uigurs and their history are, as we shall see, in substantial accordance with what the Yüan shi records about the Wei-wu-rh.

The Tarikh Djihan Kushai gives accounts of the Uigurs in great detail. I present in the following pages an English version of d'Ohsson's translation (i. 430 *seqq.*), omitting, however, some unimportant particulars. The author of the Tarikh Djihan Kushai first states, in the introduction of his article, that his information has been drawn from Uigur books; but signifies his disbelief in these tales, which he reports only as a curiosity, whereupon he continues as follows :—

The Uigurs have a tradition that they originally dwelt on the banks of the river *Orkun*,[631] which takes its rise in the mountains called *Karakorum*,[632] whence the name of the city recently built by the khan (Ogotai) has been derived. Thirty rivers take their rise among these mountains, and thirty tribes dwelt on their banks.[633] These Uigurs, who had their abodes in the valley of the Orkun, were divided into two tribes. Having considerably increased in number they elected a king, and five hundred years later *Buku Khan* appeared. People say that he is the same as *Efrassiab*.[634] There is among the mountains of Karakorum an ancient pit of *Pijen*.[635] The vestiges of a city and a palace are to be seen on the banks of the Orkun. The ancient name of this city was *Ordu balik*, but it is known now under the name of *Mao*

[631] The *Orkhon* of our maps. Probably the *Kun* river of the T'ang history is the same. See note 604.

[632] See note 609.

[633] These regions, in fact, abound in water. Numerous rivers and rivulets run down from the north-eastern slope of the Khangai mountain, all tributaries of the Orkhon or the Selenga.

[634] This is the name of a famous king of the Turks mentioned in Firdusi's "Shahnameh."

[635] The name of a Persian hero who was taken prisoner by Efrassiab, and kept for some time in a well. He was delivered by the famous Rustem. See the "Shahnameh."

balik.[636] Before the palace are found some stones covered with inscriptions, which we have seen. In the reign of the khan (Ogotai) these stones were removed, when a pit was discovered in which was a great stone tablet with an inscription. The khan ordered it to be examined by people of different nations, but no one was found who could read it. Finally the khan sent to China for men who are called *Kames* (see note 641). The inscription, which proved to be in their language and character, was as follows :—

At a place called *Kumlandju*, situated at the junction of the rivers *Tugola* and *Selinga*,[637] which take their rise in the mountains of Karakorum, there were two trees close together; one of them a *fistuk* tree, resembling a pine, evergreen like a cypress and with cone-like fruit;[638] the other a wild pine. Between these two trees a hillock appeared, upon which a stream of light descended from heaven; whereupon the hillock began to grow, and marvellous things were seen about it. Just after the lapse of the period of a woman's pregnancy, the hillock opened, and five hillocks resembling tents were seen. In each tent was a little boy, and to these boys the people paid the greatest respect. The youngest of them, called *Buku tekin*, was very intelligent, and subsequently the Uigurs made him their khan. The reign of *Buku Khan* was very prosperous, and he was marvellously assisted by three ravens sent by heaven. They knew all the languages of the world and brought news whencesoever it was required. It happened once that a spirit under the shape of a maid appeared to Buku Khan in a dream and conducted him to the mountain *Kut tag*.[639] There they

[636] *Ordu balik* means "the city of the ordu, or residence of the khan." D'Ohsson translates *Mao balik* by "mauvaise ville, ville ruinée."

[637] The rivers *Tola* and *Selenga*.

[638] *Fistuk* in Arabic means the "pistacia tree;" but the description given here does not agree with Pistacia vera. Besides, this tree is not found in Mongolia.

[639] Probably the same as the *Hu-li-da-ho* or "Mountain of Happiness" in the Chinese records. See p. 247.

had conferences every night for seven years, six months, and twenty-two days. On the last night the maid took leave and revealed to Buku that he would rule over the whole world. He then assembled his troops and sent his brothers to wage war against the Mongols, the Kirghizes, the Tanguts, and the Khitai. All returned to the river Orkun with great booty and a large number of captives. After this the city of *Ordu balik* was built.[640] Buku Khan had another dream, in which he saw a man dressed in white, who gave him a piece of jade in the form of a pine tree, and said to him, "As long as you are able to keep this piece of jade in your possession, you will rule over the four quarters of the globe." His minister had the same dream. Buku Khan then directed his armies to the west and arrived in Turkestan, where he established his residence in a beautiful plain abounding in water and pasture. There he built the city of

[640] We have seen that, according to the T'ang annals, *Gu-du-lu P'i-k'ie-k'üe K'o-han*, chief of the Hui-ho, in the middle of the eighth century established his residence on the river *Kun* (Orkun of the Tarikh Djihan Kushai). I have no doubt that *P'i-k'ie-k'üe K'o-han* is the Buku Khan of the Persian record and the *Bu-k'o han* of the Yüan shi. The ancient map of Mongolia appended to the Yüan shi lei pien marks *Bo-ko han ch'eng* or city of Bo-ko han north-east of Karakorum. The existence of the ancient capital of the Uigurs near the place where afterwards the Mongols built Karakorum, and of the ancient inscriptions there, is corroborated by the annals of the Liao (K'i-tan). We read in the Liao shi, chap. ii.: The emperor *T'ai tsu* (Apaoki, 916–927) in 924 undertook a journey through the ancient territories of the *Shan-yü* (the khans of the ancient *Hiung-nu* in Mongolia). On the first day of the ninth month he encamped near the ancient city of the *Hui-hu*, where he ordered a marble tablet to be erected, with the accounts of his victories engraved. . . . He gave orders also to take water from the *Kin ho* (Golden river), and stones from the *Wu shan* (Black mountain, probably the Karakorum mountain), and carry them home on carts to the river *Huang ho* (the *Shara muren* in Eastern Mongolia), and the mount *Mu-ye* (a sacred mount of the Liao, situated at the junction of the *Lo-ha* river and the Shara muren), to build a monument for posterity, to prove that the rivers and the mountains have come to offer tribute. . . . On the 29th of the same month (the emperor sojourned still at the same place), he ordered the ancient monument of *P'i-k'o han* to be restored. Besides this an inscription was made in letters of the *K'i-tan*, *T'u-küe* (Turks), and *Chinese*, to glorify the feats of *P'i-k'o han*.

Belasagun, now called *Gu-balik* (see note 583). In the space of twelve years Buku Khan succeeded in subduing the whole world. His armies advanced as far as the regions where the people resembled brutes, and they were informed that no inhabitants were to be found beyond. The kings of all the subdued countries were carried to Buku Khan, who received them with benevolence, with the single exception, however, of the king of India, to whom an audience was refused owing to his extreme ugliness. All were allowed to return to their countries after tribute had been imposed upon them. When Buku Khan had completed this great enterprise, he left Belasagun and returned to his native country.

As to the religion of the Uigurs at the time spoken of, they had certain magicians which they called *Kam*.[641] The same are found even now among the Mongols. These magicians say that they are possessed by demons, who inform them of everything they wish to know. Even now the greater part of the descendants of Chinghiz have the firmest faith in them. Nothing of importance is undertaken without consulting the astrologers. These *Kams* also cure maladies. The Uigurs sent to the khan of *Khitai*—an idolatrous country—for the men called *Numi*. These have a sacred book called *num*,[642] which is their moral code, a collection of fables and tales interspersed with good precepts. Amongst other things, it is

[641] There can scarcely be any doubt that by *Kam* the *Shamans* are meant, conjurors who have their peculiar superstitious belief, and who even now-a-days sustain an important *rôle* in Mongolia and some parts of Siberia. In the History of the T'ang, chap. cclix.*b*, in the article *Kie-gia-sz'* (Kirghizes), we find a statement (referring to the ninth century) that in this country the fortune-tellers or diviners are called *Kan* (evidently the same as *Kam*). Potanin informs us ("Mongolia," ii. 81) that now-a-days the *Shamans* are called *Bo* by the Mongols, *Kham* by the Urianghai tribe north of the Tangnu-ola mountains, *Baksy* by the Kirghizes (compare *Bacsi* of M. Polo). In Siberia and Russia they are called *Shamans;* and this is, according to Professor Schott, Berlin (Ermann's "Archiv.," xxiii.), originally a Tungus word. The Chinese term them *t'iao shen* (dancers before the spirits).

[642] D'Ohsson renders *Numi* by "lamas." In modern Mongol *num* means a "sacred book."

enjoined to abstain from injuring other persons, or even dumb animals. There are several sects of the *Numi*, who differ in their dogmas. The most wide-spread is the sect believing in the doctrine of metempsychosis, &c. When the *Numi* arrived from Khitai, the Uigurs arranged a discussion between them and the *Kam*, in order to test the respective merits of the two religions; but after the *Numi* had read some chapters of their books, the *Kam* could say nothing in reply. The Uigurs thereupon embraced the religion of the *Numi*. Amongst all the idolaters of the East, these are the bitterest enemies of Islamism. We have not given more than the hundredth part of the absurdities found in the Uigur books in order to show the ignorance and stupidity of these people. One of my friends told me that he had read in a book the above-related story of the two trees, with the explanation, that a man had scooped out the trunks of these trees, put his boys in the cavities, and placed a light in the vicinity.

Buku Khan was happy to the end of his life, and was succeeded by one of his sons. Subsequently the Uigurs observed that all beasts, domestic as well as wild, and even the little children, uttered the words *ghech, ghech*, which means "go away."[643] They took this for a divine command and emigrated; but the same sounds continued to be heard by the Uigurs until they had arrived at the plain where subsequently the city of *Bishbalik* was founded.[644] There they settled and established *five* divisions, which they called *Bishbalik* (five cities).[645] From that time the

[643] *Ghech* in Turkish is the imperative mood of the verb *ghechmek*, "to go away." See Klaproth "Mém. Rel. à l'Asie," ii. 341.

[644] The Persian historian does not state at what time this emigration of the Uigurs took place; but as, according to the Chinese accounts of the Uigurs, *P'i-k'ie k'o-han* or Buku Khan lived in the middle of the eighth century, and the empire of the Uigurs in Northern Mongolia was destroyed in 840, they emigrated probably to the T'ien shen immediately after this event.

[645] I am not aware what d'Ohsson intended by "ils bâtirent cinq quartiers auxquels ils donnèrent le nom de Bishbalik;" it is not clear whether he means one city with five divisions or five separate cities.

descendants of Buku Khan have continued to rule over this country, and their kings bear the title of *Idikut*.

Rashid, in his accounts of the Uigurs, gives some new information (d'Ohsson, i. 436, 109; Berezin, i. 124). The name *Uigur*, which means "allies, auxiliaries," in Turkish, he explains by the tradition that Oghuz Khan, the progenitor of all the Turk tribes, had bestowed this name on some of his relatives who adhered to him when he was attacked by the others. Rashid states further:—

It is reported that in the (ancient) country of the Uigurs there are two ridges of mountains; one is called *Bukratu buzluk*, the other *Uskun luk tangrin*. Between them is the mountain *Karakorum*, the name of which has been given to the city built by Ogotai Khan. Near the two chains there is yet another mountain, called *Kut tag* (see note 639). There is in these regions, occupied anciently by the Uigurs, a country irrigated by *ten* rivers, and another with *nine* rivers. Those tribes who dwelt on the borders of the *ten* rivers were called *On Uigurs*; those who settled in the valleys of the *nine* rivers, *Tokuz Uigurs*.[646] The following are the names of the ten rivers, called also *On Orkun*:—

Ishkil; in some MSS. *Ishlik*.
Onigher.
Tukaïr.
Uzkaider; in some MSS. *Askander*.
Bular; Berezin reads *Tula*.
Badar; in some MSS. *Tardar*.
Ader (this is still the name (*Eder*) of one of the sources of the Selenga).
Uch tabin.
Kamlandju (a place of this name is mentioned in the Tar. Dj. Kushai, at the junction of the Tola and the Selenga. *Vide supra*).
Utikian (the name of a mountain *Wu-te-kien* near the river *Kun* (or Orkhon) is mentioned in the T'ang history. *Vide supra*, p. 240).

[646] *On* in Turkish means "ten;" *tokuz*, "nine" (d'Ohsson).

Nine tribes were settled on the first three of these rivers; five tribes on the next four rivers. The ninth river, *Kamladju*, traversed the land of the tribe *Ong;* and on the borders of the tenth, *Utikian*, the tribe *Kamen ati* (*Kumuk ati*) dwelt.[647] Besides the aforesaid tribes, there were a hundred and twenty other Uigur tribes, the names of which are unknown. At first the Uigurs for a long time had no sovereign; each tribe was ruled by its chief. But finally the tribes elected two general chiefs, one by name *Munke bai* of the tribe *Ishkil*, to whom they gave the title of *Il-Iltyrir;* the other, of the tribe *Urkandur*, was called *Kul-Irkin*. Both ruled conjointly. Their posterity reigned for a hundred years over the Uigurs. In later times the rulers of the Uigurs bore the title of *Idikut*, *i.e.*, Lord of Happiness.

In the days of Chinghiz, *Bardjuk* was Idikut of the Uigurs. When the gurkhan (of Kara Khitai) had conquered Mavarannahar and Turkestan, Bardjuk became his tributary, and *Shadkem* was appointed the gurkhan's governor in the country of the Uigurs, where he was hated on account of his extortions. Subsequently Bardjuk heard of the great success of Chinghiz, and gave orders to kill the Kara Khitai governor, who then was in the city of *Karakhodjo*, and hastened to recognise Chinghiz, to whom he despatched *Katalmysh-Kata*, *Omur-ugul*, and *Tatari* with a letter, in which he wrote: "As when the clouds break and disclose the sun burning with renewed lustre, as the cracking ice displays the pure blue stream below, so did the arrival of thy envoys (Chinghiz had previously sent two of his officers) change my grief into the most lively joy."[648] Chinghiz had been previously

[647] In the T'ang History (*v. supra*) nine tribes of the Uigurs are enumerated, of which Rashid does not give the names. The great Chinese geography states that the *Selenga* has six sources and three affluents; but only the principal sources are enumerated there. The system of the Selenga abounds in watercourses. Compare the great Chinese map and the map appended to Pevtsoff's "Mongolia."

[648] This passage sounds like a literal translation from the Yüan ch'ao pi

informed that the Idikut had refused to harbour the brother and the sons of *Tukta* (see notes 623, 624) after their defeat on the river *Djem* (see note 590), and accordingly the envoys were kindly received. Chinghiz invited the Idikut to come in person to render homage, and to bring as presents the most precious things found in his treasury. When Bardjuk arrived, he was received with the greatest cordiality by Chinghiz, and returned home with many marks of distinction. When Chinghiz subsequently attacked *Guchluk* (son of the khan of the Naimans and gurkhan of Kara Khitai), Bardjuk at the head of 500 of his men accompanied the expedition and returned covered with glory. When Chinghiz directed his host against the *Tadjiks* (Persia), the Idikut with his division accompanied the army of the princes Chagatai and Ogotai, distinguished himself at the capture of *Otrar*, and after this was in the suite of Chinghiz. When the latter had returned from the west and again marched out against the Tangut empire, Bardjuk with his division left *Bishbalik* and joined the army of the conqueror. To reward all these merits Chinghiz had promised to Bardjuk his daughter *Altum bighi* in marriage, but owing to Chinghiz' death the marriage was postponed. As this princess finally died before the marriage had been consummated, Ogotai Khan bestowed upon the Uigur prince another princess, *Aladji bighi* (see note 626); but Bardjuk died, and then the princess was given to his son *Kishmain*, who succeeded his father as Idikut of the Uigurs. After the death of Kishmain his brother *Salendi* succeeded him.

I may finally mention the Christian mediæval authorities who have left notices of the Uigurs. The latter were probably known long before the Middle Ages to the

shi, and furnishes evidence, which indeed might be fortified by many other examples, that the author of the Mongol history of Chinghiz has drawn his information from the same sources as Rashid-eddin. See the Yüan ch'ao pi shi, chap. xi. fol. 4, Chinghiz' relations with the Idikut.

Nestorian Christians, who since the fifth century began to spread their faith among the heathen nations of Asia. We know that already in the seventh century their church was numerously represented in Central and Eastern Asia.

J. S. Assemani, the celebrated orientalist (1687–1768), in his "Bibliotheca Orientalis Clementino-Vaticana," states that in the history of the Nestorians the name of *Ighur* or *Iaghur* is of frequent occurrence, and denotes the Eastern Turks of Khatai.

Abulfaradj or *Bar Hebræus* (1226–86), who in his chronicle, written in Syriac, has a good many details about the Eastern Christians, notices the *Ighurs* as a numerous tribe of the Eastern Turks belonging to Khatai.

It is a well-established fact that the Uigurs, when they first reduced the Turkish language to writing, borrowed the alphabet from the early Nestorian missions; but it is impossible to fix the date of this adoption of the Syriac written characters by the Uigurs. It is also well known that the Uigur character was the original source of those still used by the Mongols and Manchus.

Pl. Carpini (1246) does not hesitate to declare that the Uigurs were Nestorian Christians. We read in his narrative (650, 651): "Chingis contra terram *Huiurorum* processit ad bellum; isti homines sunt Christiani de secta Nestorianorum: quos bello devicit; et illorum litteras acceperunt, nam prius (Mongali) scripturam aliquam non habebant; nunc autem appellant eandem litteram Mongalorum."

Rubruck, however, who visited the country of the Uigurs a few years later, states that they are idolaters. When speaking of the idolaters of Asia (282) he says: "Primi sunt *Iugures*, quorum terra contiguatur cum prædicta terra Organum,[649] inter montes illos versus orientem; et in omnibus civitatibus eorum sunt mixti Nestorini et Saraceni, et ipsi etiam sunt diffusi versus Persidem in civitatibus Saracenorum." After this Rubruck gives a

[649] The present *Ili* province. See note 285.

detailed account of the worship of the Uigurs. Further on (289) he says: "Apud Iugures est fons et radix idiomatis Turci et Comanici."

Haithon, in his "History of the Eastern Kingdoms" (see note 450), applies the name *Tarse* to the country of the Uigurs, whom he terms *Iogurs* (see note 160).

Pl. Carpini (651, 708) mentions *Sari-Huiur* among the countries or nations subdued by Chinghiz.

In the Yüan shi, chap. cxxi., biography of *Su-bu-tai*, it is stated that in 1226 this Mongol general received orders to cross the *Ta tsi* (great stony desert, see note 112) and to subdue the tribes of *Sa-li Wei-wu-rh*, *T'e-le*, and *Ch'i-min*. In the Ming shi the abode of the Sari Uigurs (Yellow Uigurs) is more precisely indicated. We read there, chap. cccxxx., that the military station *An ting*, situated 1500 *li* south-west of Kan chou, was in the country of the *Sa-li Wei-wu-rh* mentioned in the Yüan History. Thus we have to look for the Sari Uigurs somewhere north of Zaidam, on the southern verge of the stony desert. An envoy from Khotan, sent to the Chinese court in 1081, reported that between Khotan and the Tangut empire he had to cross the desert of the *yellow-headed Hui-ho*. (See Rémusat's "Ville de Khotan," p. 95.) These are probably the same as the Sari Uigurs.

The *Sarigh Uigurs* are repeatedly spoken of in the descriptions of Timur's warlike expeditions against the Jetes, end of the fourteenth century, as given in the Jarikhi Rashidi. It appears from these Mohammedan accounts that this tribe was west of *Charchan*. See Bellew's "History of Kashgar" in Forsyth's "Mission to Yarkund," 1873, p. 147, 153, &c. In the same history, p. 167, we read: "*Said* of Kashgar set out in 1515 on an expedition against the *Sarigh Uigur*, twelve days' journey from Khotan."

CHINESE MEDIÆVAL NOTICES OF THE MOHAMMEDANS.

It was in the reign of emperor *Wu ti* (B.C. 140–86) that the Chinese first became acquainted with the countries of Western Asia. In 126 B.C. the adventurous Chinese general *Chang K'ien* returned, having been absent for more than ten years, from the countries of the Iaxartes and the Oxus. After he had opened up communication between China and the far west, the intercourse of the Middle Kingdom with Western Asia, by water or overland, was maintained, with short interruptions, during many centuries, by the several dynasties which successively reigned over the whole of China or a part of it. Thus the Chinese came in contact with the nations who now profess Islam long before Mohammed had made his appearance. The *Parthians* (dynasty of the Arsacidæ, B.C. 256–A.D. 226) were known to them under the name of *An-si*. Since the middle of the fifth century of our era mention is made in the Chinese annals of the country or people of *Po-sz'*,[650] and the notices given of it leave no doubt that *Persia* is meant. Many embassies from Po-sz' to China are recorded in Chinese history from the fifth to the seventh century, and in the T'ang History we find even some particulars regarding *Yi-sze-sze* (Yezdejerd III.), the last king of the Sassanian dynasty, who was slain in 652.

The *Arabs* are spoken of in the Chinese annals soon after the rise of Islam. The great T'ang dynasty,

[650] The famous Chinese traveller *Hüan Thsang*, in the middle of the seventh century, calls Persia *Po-la-sz'* (Pars).

618–907, was contemporary to the rise and zenith of Arabian power. In the T'ang History the Arabs are always styled *Ta-shi*. By these two characters doubtless the Persian "Tazi" was represented. This was the name by which the Persians designated the Arabs.[651] The Arabian legends regarding Mohammed are recorded by the Chinese historians quite in accordance with Mohammedan tradition, and the accounts of the first conquests of the Arabs are also given by them with tolerable correctness. The T'ang shu notices also several embassies of the Califs to the Chinese court in the seventh and eighth centuries, namely, of *Han-mi mo-moni* (a Chinese corruption of *Emir al mumenin*, "Prince of the Believers," a title which was assumed by *Othman*), *A-bo-lo-ba* (Abul Abbas), *A-p'u ch'a-fo* (Abu Djafar), *A-lun* (Harun al Rashid). It is known from Chinese sources, as well as from the accounts given by Arabian travellers who visited China, that in the eighth century there were great factories of Arabian merchants in Canton.

The intercourse between the Arabs and China still continued by land and sea during the tenth, eleventh, and twelfth centuries. The History of the Sung, 960–1280, mentions twenty embassies sent by the *Ta-shi*. The Sung did not reign over the whole of China; for the northern provinces were subject, at first to the *K'i-tan* or *Liao*, and subsequently to the *Kin*. The Liao in the north had also communications with the Arabs. In the Liao shi, chap. ii., it is recorded that the first emperor of the Liao dynasty received an embassy from the Ta-shi in 924, when he sojourned near the ancient capital of the Hui-ho (see note 640).[652]

[651] See Quatremère's "Hist. d. Sultans Mamlouks d'Egypte," ii. 154, 155, note. Vullers' "Lexicon Persico-Latinum," sub *Tazi:* Arabs, arabicus.

[652] For further details regarding the intercourse between the Arabs and China, see my pamphlet "On the Knowledge Possessed by the Ancient Chinese of the Arabs and Arabian Colonies." London: Trübner, 1871.

Archimandrite Palladius, in his article on the Mohammedans in China ("Records of the Russian Eccl. Miss. Peking," iv. 438), states that in *Si an fu*, where the well-known Nestorian tablet of the time of the T'ang was dug up, another ancient monument has been discovered, referring to the introduction of Islam into China. This Mohammedan tablet is said to bear the date A.D. 742, and records that during the reign of the Sui emperor *K'ai huang* (581–600), Islamism first penetrated to China. Palladius gives no details about this tablet, but he has kindly informed me that it is spoken of in several Chinese works on Mohammedanism. I find in the *Ming I t'ung chi* or Geography of the Ming, published in 1461, the following statement, referring evidently to that alleged inscription. In chap. xc., fol. 12, we read under the head of *Mo-de-na*, the realm of the ancestor of the Hui-hui or Mohammedans (Medina), that in the reign of K'ai huang of the Sui dynasty, *Sa-ha-ba Sa-a-di Gan-go-sz'*,[653] a man who had arrived from that country, first taught his doctrine in the Middle Kingdom. But at the time assigned here to the introduction of Islam into China, Mohammed was still an obscure merchant.

Palladius quotes also a biography of Mohammed, written by a Chinese Mohammedan, in which it is stated that in A.D. 587, the emperor of China sent an embassy to Mohammed in Arabia, to invite him to China. The latter refused, but sent his portrait, which, however, subsequently disappeared from the canvas, in order that it might not become an object of worship.

Another Chinese Mohammedan work, the *Hui-hui yüan lai*, an apocryphal narrative of the introduction of Mohammedanism into China, bearing date 1754, records that in the year A.D. 628, the emperor of China sent an envoy with a letter to the king of the Mohammedans;

[653] *Sa-ha-ba* represents evidently "Saheb" = companion, master, professor (Herb. "Bibl. Orient."). *Sa-a-di* is probably "Saad," a favourite Arabic name of persons.

and when this embassy returned, it was accompanied by a turbaned Mohammedan priest and 3000 followers. These are said to have formed the foundation of the Mohammedan colonies in China.

These tales are not corroborated by the chroniclers of the Sui and T'ang periods. There can, however, be no doubt that at the time of the T'ang many Mohammedans were settled in China.

In early times, when the Chinese began to extend their power over the countries west of China proper, they denominated them by the general term *Si yü*, or "western countries." It seems this name came first into use when Chang K'ien had returned from Western Asia. In the History of the Former Han, chap. xcvi., where the countries of the Si yü are first described, it is stated that the Si yü begins at the Chinese fortresses *Yü men kuan* and *Yang kuan*. Both were situated in the western part of the present Kansu, west of *Kia yü kuan*, one of the principal gates of the Great Wall, and near the end of it. The name of Si yü is still applied in a general sense to the same regions of Central and Western Asia inhabited by Mohammedan people. Down to the twelfth century the Mohammedans are not designated by a general name in Chinese history. In the T'ang history, where they are first mentioned, they go under the name of *Ta shi* (Arabs). *Hui-hui* is now the common Chinese name for all professors of Islamism. It seems this term occurs first in the Liao shi. In the article on the Western Liao or Kara Khitai above translated, it is stated that the ruler of the *Hui-hui* paid tribute to the chief of the Kara Khitai (A.D. 1124). The History of the Kin also once uses this name, stating that in the twelfth century there was a regiment of the *Hui-hui* in the army of the Kin, who were able to cast inflammable substances. In the Yüan shi the term *Hui-hui* for Mohammedans is met with in only a few instances; they being generally styled there *Hui-ho* or *Hui-hu*. These latter denominations

have given rise to a great confusion in Chinese history; for in the T'ang period, and even in the twelfth century, only the *Uigurs* were designated by these names. The Yüan shi, however, applies to the Uigurs a new name, *Wei-wu-rh*, whilst the terms *Hui-ho* and *Hui-hu*, when met with in the Yüan history, always denote the Mohammedans. It is difficult to explain the origin of this confusion of names. Perhaps the Chinese confounded Uigurs and Mohammedans because the Western Uigurs in Turkestan, Kashgar, &c., had accepted Islam.

In the transliterated Mongol text of the Yüan ch'ao pi shi (middle of the thirteenth century) the country of the Mohammedans is termed *Sart-ol* (Sart-aul). The same name is there also applied to the people. The Chinese translation of the Mongol text, made in 1388, renders *Sartol* by *Hui-hu*. The Sart or Sartol of the Mongols are evidently the same as the *Sarti* of Pl. Carpini (p. 710). Now-a-days *Sart* is a designation of the settled Mohammedans in Turkestan, Transoxiana, Khiva, who do not lead a nomadic existence. P. Lerch ("Russ. Revue," i.) derives the word *Sart* from *Iaxartes*; for in old writers it was used at first almost exclusively for the settled inhabitants of the lower valley of the Iaxartes. Most of the merchants then were Sarts, as now-a-days.[654]

In a few cases the Chinese writers of the Mongol period call the *Mussulmans* by this very name. In the Yüan shi, chap. v., we read that in 1262 an imperial decree was issued that young men belonging to the families of the *Mu-su-man*, *Wei-wu-rh* (Uigurs), *Ye-li-k'o-wen* (Christians), and *Da-shi-man* (Mollahs), are to be employed in military service.

The Kin envoy Wu-ku-sun, 1220 (see above, p. 30), speaks of the *Mu-su-lu-man Hui-ho* in Persia.

[654] D'Ohsson is wrong in stating that the Mongols called the Mohammedans *Tadjiks* (i. 216). In early times the Persians were called *Tadjiks*, and even now-a-days this name is applied in Turkestan and Transoxiana to the aboriginal Iranian population there.

The diarist of Ch'ang ch'un's travels (see p. 70) notices in Central Asia a realm of the *P'u-su-man*, the ruler of which seems to have had his residence at Almalik. *P'u-su-man* is evidently the same as *Bussurman* of the ancient Russian annals, by which name the Mohammedans are always to be understood (Karamzin, iv. 104). Pl. Carpini states (749, 750): "De terra *Cangitarum* (Kankalis) intravimus terram *Biserminorum*. Isti homines linguam *Comanicam* (Kipchak) loquebantur, et adhuc loquuntur; sed legem Sarracenorum tenent," &c. But generally P. Carpini terms the Mohammedans *Sarracens*, as do also Rubruck and M. Polo.

I may quote a statement from the Yüan ch'ao pi shi pointing to the fact that even before the rise of Chinghiz Mohammedan merchants carried on trade with the nomad tribes in the most eastern part of Mongolia. We read there: "When Chinghiz was encamping on the Lake *Baldjuna* (in 1203),[655] a *Sartatai* (*i.e.*, a native of the country of the Sarts, a Mohammedan) by name *Asan* (Hassan), arrived from *Alahushi digit huri* [656] of the tribe *Wangut*. He had taken along with him a thousand sheep and a white camel, for his passage down the river *Ergunie*,[657] to barter for sable and squirrel furs. When he stopped at the lake he met with Chinghiz."

The conquest of Chinghiz and his successors had opened a highway of communication between the east and west of Asia; and western people began to frequent the far east, and even to settle there. The Mongol emperors patronised the colonisation of China by foreigners; and with respect to the Mohammedans, it seems that

[655] The Mohammedan authors also mention Chinghiz encamping there, but they speak of a river Baldjuna (d'Ohsson, i. 72). The Baldjuna lake, from which the Tura river takes rise, lies south of Chita, in Transbaikalia.

[656] *Alakush tikin kuri* of Rashid, chief of the *Ongut* tribe (d'Ohsson, i. 84).

[657] The river *Argun*, a tributary of the *Amur*. It comes out from the northern corner of Lake *Kulon nor*, into which the Kerulun empties itself from the south.

since Hulagu, the brother of Mangu Khan, ruled over Western Asia, emigration from Persia to China had considerably increased. I think it not unlikely that the Mohammedans now scattered over the whole of China proper, and forming large communities, especially in the provinces of Kansu, Shansi, and Chili, are for the greater part descendants of those *Saracens* mentioned by M. Polo in the same provinces. Rashid-eddin states in his description of China (Yule's "Cathay," 269) that in his time all the inhabitants of *Karadjang* (Yünnan) were Mohammedans; and I feel tolerably certain also that the Mohammedans of Yünnan, called *Panthays* by the Burmese, and who in 1857 captured Ta li fu from the Chinese, and maintained their power in this province till 1873, may be traced back to the time of the Mongol emperors.

The Yüan shi gives many biographies of distinguished Mohammedans in the service of the Mongols. A number of them occupied high offices. I may quote the names of the Hui-ho met with in the history of the Mongols, and notice occasionally some particulars from their biographies.

In chap. cxxv. we find the biography of *Sai-dien-ch'i shan-sze-ding*, called also *Wu-ma-rh*. He was a *Hui-hu* and a descendant of the *Bie-an-bo-rh*.[658] In his country *Sai-dien-ch'i* means "noble family." He has a long biography, from which we learn that he submitted to Chinghiz when the latter waged war in Western Asia, and entered his life-guard. Under Ogotai and Mangu Khans he was governor and held other offices. Khubilai Khan appointed him minister. He died in Yünnan, where he had been governor. He left five sons, viz., *Na-su-la-ding* (Nasr-uddin), *Ha-san* (Hassan), *Hu-sin* (Hussein), *Shan-su-ding wu-mo-li*, and *Ma-su-hu* (Mas'ud). All these held high offices.

Na-su-la-ding has a separate biography in the same

[658] *Peighember* in Persian means "prophet." See note 384.

chapter. He was governor of the province of Yünnan, and distinguished himself in the war against the southern tribes of *Kiao-chi* (Cochin-China) and *Mien* (Burma). He died in 1292, the father of twelve sons, the names of five of which are given in the biography, viz., *Bo-yen-ch'a-rh*,[659] who held a high office, *Wu-ma-rh* (Omar), *Dje-fa-rh* (Djafar), *Hu-sien* (Hussein), and *Sha-di* (Saadi).

The *Sai-dien-ch'i* of the Yüan shi is without doubt the same personage spoken of by Rashid (d'Ohsson, ii. 467) under the name of *Sayid-Edjell*. According to the Persian historian, he was a native of Bokhara and governor of Karadjang (Yünnan) when Kubilai, in the reign of Mangu, entered the country. Subsequently he was appointed vizier, and in the beginning of Kubilai's reign he had charge of the finances. His son, *Nasr-uddin*, was appointed governor in Karadjang, and retained his position in Yünnan till his death, which Rashid, writing about A.D. 1300, says occurred five or six years before (according to the Yüan shi, *Na-su-la-ding* + in 1292). His son, *Abu-bekr*, who had the surname *Bayan Fenchan* (evidently the *Bo-yen-ch'a-rh* of the Yüan shi), was governor in *Zaitun* at the time Rashid wrote. He bore also his grandfather's title of Sayid Edjell, and was minister of the finances under Kubilai's successor (d'Ohsson, ii. 476, 507, 508). Nasr-uddin is mentioned by M. Polo, who styles him *Nescradin* (ii. 84).

In chap. cxxiii. of the Yüan shi we find the biography of *A-la-wa-rh-sze*, who is stated there to have been a *Hui-ho* and a native of *Ba-wa-rh* (Baurd in Khorassan). He was commander of a thousand in his own country. When Chinghiz arrived at Ba-wa-rh, A-la-wa-rh-sze surrendered and entered the Mongol army. His son,

[659] This *Bo-yen* is not to be confounded with the eminent general of the same name, who was a Mongol, and who is mentioned as *Bayan Chincsan* by M. Polo (ii. 128). The biography of this valiant captain is found in the Yüan shi, chap. cxxvii. It is quite in accordance with the biographical notices Rashid gives of the same personage. He calls him *Bayan* (Berezin, i. 196).

A-la-wu-ding (Alaï-uddin), was a valiant warrior in Kubilai's army. He died in 1292, at the age of a hundred and two. His son, *Djan-sze-ding*, had five sons, namely, *Wu-ma-rh*, *A-san-bu-bie*, *Hin-djo-lan-cha*, *A-ha-ma* (Ahmed), and *O-tu-man* (Othman).

Other *Hui-ho* or Mohammedans, whose biographies have been incorporated in the Yüan shi, have the following names :—

Chap. 134. *San-ghi-sze.*—Chap. 194. *Na-su-la-ding* (Nasr-uddin), son of *Ma-ho-mu* (Mahmud).—Chap. 196. *T'ie-li-mi-shi.*

Chap. 205. *A-ho-ma* (Ahmed). His biography is placed in the Yüan shi under the rubric "Villanous Ministers." This is the "certain Saracen *Achmath*" to whom M. Polo has devoted a chapter entitled "Oppressions of Achmath" (i. 401).

Another Mohammedan who held high offices in China under Chinghiz and his successors was *Mahmud Yelvadj*. His son, *Mas'ud*, was governor of Turkestan. Both are spoken of by the Persian authors, as well as in the Yüan shi (*vide supra*, p. 11).

The annals of the Yüan shi further mention a Mohammedan named *Ao-du-la ha-man*, to whom Ogotai Khan had leased on rent all the revenues of his empire. He is stated there to have caused indirectly the death of Ogotai by making him a present of wine. The khan, who was given to drinking, found it so delicious, that he drank till midnight, and the next morning expired, in December 1241 (Yüan shi, *sub anno*). D'Ohsson calls this man *Abdur Rahman* (ii. 189). It seems he quotes the name from the Persian authors.

In the biographies of the following distinguished men, the *Si yü* (*vide supra*, p. 267) is given as their native country. Evidently Persia is meant.

Chap. 120. *Dja-ba-rh huo-djo*, a valiant companion in arms of Chinghiz. He was a native of *Sai-yi* (perhaps Seyistan), which country (or tribe) is said there to be in

the *Si yü*. He was the chief of this tribe, wherefore he bore the name *Huo-djo*, which in their language is the name of an office.[660] He was of a tall figure, had a splendid beard, large eyes, and a broad forehead. He was brave, and a skilful archer and rider. Chinghiz accidentally seeing this man in his army, was surprised at his appearance and became interested in him. This must have happened at an early period of Chinghiz' career, for Dja-ba-rh is stated to have been with the conqueror when he waged war with *Wang han* (Ong Khan of the Kerait tribe) in 1203. Thus it seems that Mohammedans served in the Mongol army even before the rise of Chinghiz. This biography states also that *Dja-ba-rh* had been entrusted by Chinghiz with a mission to the famous Taoist monk *Kiu Ch'ang ch'un*, who lived among the mountains of *K'un lun*.[661] Ch'ang ch'un asked Djabar which he would prefer, honours and splendour, or a numerous posterity. Djabar then answered, "After a hundred years riches and splendour will be of no value to me; but I should wish my sons and grandsons to be prosperous and to continue my lineage." Ch'ang ch'un said, "Your wish shall be realised." And indeed it was so. Djabar died at the age of a hundred and eighteen, and left a numerous posterity. Several of his descendants are mentioned in his biography.

Chap. 133. *K'ie-lie*.—Chap. 142. *Che-lie-t'ie-mu-rh*, a native of *A-lu-wen* in the *Si yü* (perhaps *Holvan*, between Kirmanshah and Bagdad).

Chap. 203. *A-lao-wa-ding* (Alai-eddin), a man from *Mu-fa-li* in the *Si yü* (Mu-fa-li is, perhaps, intended for *Moaferin*, a fortress north-east of Diarbekir, taken by the Mongols in 1260). *I-sz'-ma-yin* (Ismael), a man from

[660] *Khodja* is a title applied to the descendants of a Sayyid; also used as a mere term of honour.

[661] Not to be confounded with the high mountain chain, *Kun lun*, in Central Asia. The mountain here spoken of is in the province of Shan tung, the native country of Ch'ang ch'un, south-east of *Ning hai chou*. With respect to Ch'ang ch'un, compare his narrative of travel above (p. 35).

Hü-lie in the *Si yü*. As *Hü-lie-wu* is the Chinese transcription of *Hulagu*, the name of the conqueror of Western Asia, it is possible that originally "a man belonging to Hu-la-gu" was intended. Both Alai-eddin and Ismael were Persian engineers expert at the construction and working of catapults. They had been sent from Persia to China in 1271, and their machines were employed at the siege of Siang-yang-fu.[662]

The biography of Ismael's son *I-ho-di-ya-rh-ding* is found in chapter cxxxvii.

In chapter xlviii., on astronomy, mention is made of *Dja-ma-la-ding*, a Persian astronomer, who in 1267 presented to Kubilai seven Persian astronomical instruments, of which a brief description is given. They are enumerated by their Persian names. He is said to have also presented a new scheme of chronography.[663]

The historians of the Ming period always term the Mohammedans *Hui-hui*; and, as has been stated above, this is the name also by which all professors of Islam in China proper, as well as in Central and Western Asia, are known to the Chinese in our days.

[662] Compare d'Ohsson, iii. 355, about an able military engineer in the fortress of *Mayafarkin* (Moaferin). See also M. Polo, ii. 141.

[663] See A. Wylie's interesting article on the Mongol astronomical instruments in Peking, 1876.

NOTICES OF THE WARLIKE EXPEDITIONS OF THE MONGOLS TO THE WEST.

The material which hitherto has been worked up by our historians dealing with the conquest of Western Asia and Eastern Europe by the Mongols was almost exclusively derived from Western, and principally Persian sources. It is only in a few cases that d'Ohsson, in his "Histoire des Mongols," quotes with respect to these events Father Hyacinth's above-mentioned translation of the first three chapters of the Yüan shi, where the doings of the Mongols are recorded down to the year 1260. It is not to be wondered at when d'Ohsson, although he possessed a knowledge of the Russian language, has not been able to find in this translation corroborations of the Persian records, the former being made from a corrupted edition of the Yüan shi, as I have stated above. I can also understand when d'Ohsson says with respect to the *Si shi ki* (see Part I., No. 4), of which he had seen Rémusat's translation: "Cet itinéraire n'a rien ajouté à nos connaissances." A correct translation of this ancient narrative and a translation of an uncorrupted edition of the Yüan shi would have furnished him with many arguments for his historical researches. I am, however, far from assigning to the Chinese and Mongol historical accounts a high historical value. These fragmentary and aphoristic notices can often be understood only when comparing them with the more detailed Western records. But it is needless to say that every ancient historical document is calculated to add some new light, all the

more when bearing upon a subject repeatedly ventilated by European *savants*.

Proceeding from this point of view, I shall present in this part of my researches, comparative notices of western and eastern accounts with respect to the Mongol invasions of the countries of the west. I omit the review of Hulagu's expeditions to Persia, Syria, &c., 1258–60, for this subject has already been treated of in the previous part (p. 112 *seqq.*).

I. CHINGHIZ KHAN'S EXPEDITION TO WESTERN ASIA, A.D. 1219–25.

I begin with a sketch of the records of Mohammedan authors regarding the first invasion of Western Asia by the Mongols, my notes being an abstract from d'Ohsson's work (I., chap. 7), to which I shall add my remarks.

Mohammed Khorazm Shah, on his return from an expedition to Irak Adjem in 1218, received at *Bokhara* some envoys from Chinghiz, who were, however, all subjects of the Shah,—it seems Mohammedan merchants returning from Mongolia. They brought presents and a peaceful message, with a proposal of the Mongol khan to establish regular commercial intercourse between Mongolia and the dominions of the Shah. Mohammed apparently received them with cordiality, but felt that it would be to his prejudice to form an alliance with Chinghiz acknowledging his supremacy. After this, Chinghiz despatched a caravan consisting of 400 merchants, all Mohammedans, to Khorazm, who were also entrusted with diplomatic messages. But when they arrived at *Otrar* they were plundered and put to death by order of the governor of that place, by name *Inaldjuk Gaïr Khan*;[664] and this was the origin of the war. Be-

[64] As to the number of merchants sent on this occasion to Khorazm and killed in Otrar, the Mohammedan authors do not agree in their statements.

fore beginning hostilities, Chinghiz sent a Turk named *Bagra*, accompanied by two Mongol officers, to ask satisfaction for these outrages; but Bagra was executed by order of Mohammed, and the two Mongol officers were sent back after being shaved. Some time subsequently, Mohammed began hostilities by attacking a body of Mongols who had pursued the Merkits to the territories of the Kankali. This battle took place north of the city of *Djend* on the Lower Sihun. It must be remembered that after the destruction of the empire of the Kara Khitai (Guchluk), the dominions of Chinghiz were conterminous with those of Khorazm Shah.

Towards the end of 1218 Chinghiz left his ordo, entrusting his younger brother *Udjughen* with the government of his states (see note 102). The Mongol army spent the whole summer of 1219 on the river *Irtysh* in order to equip anew and to complete the cavalry. Chinghiz was joined there by the prince of the *Uigurs* (Bardjuk), by *Signak Tekin*, prince of *Almalik*, and by *Arslan*, khan of the *Karluks*. The army marched out in autumn, and no resistance was opposed to the Mongol arms until the *Sihun* (Iaxartes) had been reached.[665]

When the army had arrived at *Otrar* (end of 1219 it seems) it was divided into four corps, the first of which, commanded by Chinghiz' sons *Ogotai* and *Chagatai*, invested Otrar. The second, under the command of Chinghiz' eldest son, *Djuchi*, was directed to the right against the city of *Djend*. The third corps, conducted by the Mongol generals *Alak*, *Sugtu*, and *Togai*, marched up the

Some assert that there were only four. Ye-lü Ch'u ts'ai (see Part I., p. 20), who in his narrative speaks of the catastrophe of Otrar, states that several envoys of Chinghiz and several hundreds of merchants had been murdered. The Yüan ch'ao pi shi says, with respect to the same event, "The *Sartol* had killed Chinghiz Khan's envoy *Wuhun*, and put to death a hundred men in all.

[665] The Mohammedan authors give no details regarding the march of Chinghiz from the Irtysh to the Sihun. The itinerary of Chinghiz' army through Central Asia is found in Ye-lü Ch'u ts'ai's itinerary (p. 13 *seqq.*).

Sihun to *Benaket* (or *Fenaket*). Chinghiz himself with the main army advanced upon *Bokhara*.

After a five months' siege, *Otrar* was captured and pillaged; its governor, Gair Khan, was taken prisoner and afterwards put to death by having melted silver poured into his ears and eyes.

Djuchi on his way towards Djend arrived at *Signak*. The city was captured after being stormed for seven days. *Ozkend*, *Barkhalighkend*, and *Eshnass* suffered the same fate. Djuchi then marched against *Djend*, which was also stormed. One division was despatched to take *Yenghikend*. All these cities were situated on the Sihon, the last at a distance of two days' journey from the lake of *Khorazm* (Aral). The Uigur troops, numbering 10,000 men, were then allowed to return home,[666] and were replaced by 10,000 men, Turkmans.

The left flank of the Mongol army was also successful in its operations. *Benaket*, which was garrisoned by *Turk-Kankalis*, surrendered. The Mongols then attacked *Khodjend*, whose governor was the valiant *Timur-melik*. Being constrained to abandon Khodjend, he retired with a thousand men to a castle on an island in the Sihon, where he held out for a long time. But having lost the greater part of his troops, he was at length forced to flee, and succeeded in reaching Khorazm, where he joined *Djelal-eddin*, the son of Mohammed Shah, from whom he did not separate until the death of that prince.

Meanwhile Chinghiz, accompanied by his son *Tului*, had advanced into Transoxiana, and in March of 1220 appeared at *Bokhara*,[667] which was then a large and

[666] In the Yüan shi, biography of the Uigur prince Bardju (*v. supra*, p. 250), it is stated that he assisted at the storming of Nishapur. In the article on the Uigurs (*v. supra*, p. 261) Rashid likewise testifies that this prince, after the capture of Otrar, did not return home, but remained in the suite of Chinghiz.

[667] This is the first date the Mohammedan authors give after the starting from the Irtysh. The military events above related must have taken place in the beginning of the year 1220.

magnificent city. After several days' siege, the garrison tried to force its way through the Mongol lines, but was almost destroyed. The city surrendered, but the citadel held out twelve days.

Chinghiz next advanced along the fertile valley of the *Sogd* (Zarafshan river) towards *Samarkand*, which was then garrisoned by 40,000 men, most of whom were Kankalis. Samarkand surrendered in April 1220, when the greater part of the inhabitants were slaughtered.

Whilst the Mongols devastated Transoxiana, Mohammed Shah behaved with the greatest indifference. He was at Samarkand when the enemy entered Transoxiana, and then fled to *Nakhsheb*. He was at first disposed to repair to *Ghazna;* but when he had reached *Balkh*, he was persuaded by one of his viziers to retreat to Irak Adjem. On the 18th of April he halted at *Nishabur*, but after a rest of three weeks was obliged to start again, being informed of the approach of the Mongols through Khorassan. He then took the road to *Kasvin*, where his son, *Rokn-eddin*, was said to have rallied about 30,000 troops.

When sojourning at Samarkand, Chinghiz had sent two corps in pursuit of Mohammed, under the command of *Chebe* (see note 592) and *Subutai Bahadur*.[668] They crossed the *Djihun* (Oxus, Amu) at *Pendjab*, and advanced into Khorassan. Chebe took the way through *Nishabur* to *Mazanderan*, whilst Subutai proceeded through the *Kumuss* to Irak Adjem, passing through *Kabushan*, *Tus*, *Esferain*, *Damegan*, and *Simnan*. Both corps met at *Raÿi* (near the present Teheran).

Mohammed, trying to flee to Bagdad, was near being taken by the Mongols; but he succeeded in escaping,

[668] I shall speak more fully of this valiant Mongol general (see note 689). *Bahadur* is an honorific title, meaning "brave" in Turkish (d'Ohsson, i. 35) The Russian *bogatyr*, a valiant man, a champion, seems to have the same origin. This is probably the same root as the Manchu honorific title *baturu*, meaning brave, now conferred as a military distinction. In the Yüan shi the above term is generally rendered by *ba-du-rh*.

and retired through the mountainous country of *Ghilan* to *Mazanderan*. The Mongols, however, were already masters of that country, and *Amol* and *Asterabad* had been sacked. Mohammed arrived in Mazanderan almost alone, and hid himself for some days in a village on the shore of the Caspian, till his asylum was betrayed, when he fled to a small island in the Sea of *Absukun*,[669] where he subsequently died of an attack of pleurisy.

Turkan Khatun, the mother of Mohammed, had at that time left *Kurkandj*, the capital of Khorazm, and hid herself with the princesses in the castle of *Ilal*, among the mountains of Mazanderan; but she was discovered, and obliged to surrender.[670]

After the fall of Samarkand, Chinghiz encamped with his army in the country between this city and *Nakhsheb* (Karshi), and spent the whole summer of 1220 there. In autumn the military operations recommenced. One army, commanded by Djuchi, Ogotai, and Chagatai, was sent against *Kurkandj* or *Urghendj*, the capital of Khorazm, which at that time had no ruler; for owing to a revolt of the troops, Djelal-eddin had been constrained to leave, and had fled to *Ghazna*. Timur-melik was with him. Tului, the fourth son of Chinghiz, received orders to devastate Khorassan, whilst Chinghiz himself directed the main army to the south, beginning this expedition with the siege of *Termed*, situated on the north bank of the *Djihun*, which was captured after ten days' storming. Chinghiz then wintered (1220–21) in the district of *Seman*, whence *Badakhshan* was invaded.

In the spring of 1221, Chinghiz crossed the *Djihun* with his army. The city of *Balkh* surrendered; but being afraid to leave it, Chinghiz slaughtered the inhabi-

[669] This island, called also *Abisgun*, lies in the south-eastern corner of the Caspian Sea. See Dorn's "Caspia," xxvi. 68. The city of *Abisgun*, situated at the mouth of the River Djurdjan, was a famous port in the Middle Ages. See Abulfeda, i. 77; II. ii. 180.

[670] Compare Ye-lü Ch'u ts'ai about Turkan Khatun (Part I., p. 22).

tants and destroyed the city. Hence he advanced upon the fortress of *Nussretkuh*, situated in the mountainous country of *Talekan*. This place had been ineffectually besieged by one of his generals for six months, but was captured when Chinghiz' army arrived.

Meanwhile Tului, executing the orders of his father, had invaded *Khorassan*, and sent his brother-in-law, *Togachar*, with the avant-guard to *Nessa*. After sacking this place, Togachar advanced upon *Nishabur*, in November 1220, but was killed on the third day of the siege. Tului directed his main army, numbering 70,000 men, upon *Meru-Shahidjan*, which was captured in February 1221, and then marched upon *Nishabur*. The latter place was taken by assault; the destruction of the city occupied fifteen days, April 1221. Thence Tului pursued his way to *Herat* (more generally styled *Heri* in the Middle Ages). A detachment of his forces destroyed the tomb of the Calif Harun al Rashid, near the city of *Tus*, and the country of *Kuhistan*, through which Tului's way lay, was laid waste. The Mongols arrived at Herat, and after eight days' attack and the death of its governor, the city offered to capitulate. On the capture of this place, Tului joined his father in *Talekan*.

At that time *Urghendj* had also been taken by the other sons of Chinghiz, after a siege of more than six months. The capture of the place had been partly retarded owing to a disagreement which had arisen between Djuchi and Chagatai. When Chinghiz heard of this quarrel he grew very angry, and ordered Ogotai to take the command. After the fall of Urghendj, Ogotai and Chagatai both came to join their father. Only Djuchi remained in the country north of the Sihun.

Chinghiz, after spending the summer of 1221 among the mountains surrounding *Talekan*, recommenced the operations and advanced towards *Ghazna*, where Djelal-eddin had rallied considerable forces. The Mongols were detained a whole month by the siege of the fortress of

Kerduan. When the place had surrendered, Chinghiz crossed the Hindukush and attacked *Bamian.* There one of his favourite grandsons was killed; and to avenge his death he ordered the city to be destroyed and the whole district to be made a desert.

The Mongol general *Shiki Kutuku* had been posted with a corps of observation on the mountainous frontiers of *Kabul* and *Zabelstan,* to cover the operations of Chinghiz. This corps was defeated by Djelal-eddin in the plain of *Beruan;* but the latter was not able to profit by his victory, being abandoned by a part of his troops. He therefore determined to retreat towards the river *Sind.* He was pursued rapidly by Chinghiz, who arrived at Ghazna fifteen days after the sultan had left it. Djelal-eddin had not yet crossed the river when the Mongols arrived. A desperate battle was fought, in which the sultan's troops were defeated. He jumped into the river with his horse and swam across it. This happened in December 1221. Some time after, Djelal-eddin was said again to rally some forces beyond the Sind. In the spring of 1222, Chinghiz sent his two generals, *Bela* and *Turtai,* in pursuit of the sultan, who retired towards *Delhi.* They proceeded to invest *Multan;* but as it held out bravely and they were afraid of the terrible heat there, they retired again to Ghazna, after ravaging the provinces of Multan, Lahore, Peshawur, and Melikpur.

On the defeat of Djelal-eddin, Chinghiz sent Ogotai to destroy *Ghazna,* and the general Ilchikadai received orders to punish *Herat,* which had revolted. After a siege of six months, Herat was taken on the 14th of June 1222, and destroyed. Besides this, *Meru* was plundered for the second time. Ogotai, after destroying Ghazna, asked permission to attack the city of *Sistan;* but Chinghiz objected, owing to the excessive heat, and recalled his son.

Chinghiz spent the summer of 1222 in the plain of

Beruan[671] with his troops, and when Bela and Turtai returned from India, the whole army set out again. Ogotai joined the main army with his corps near the fort *Gunaun kurgan*. The Mongols wintered in the mountainous country of *Buya-ketwer*, about the sources of the Sind.

In the spring of 1223, Chinghiz determined to return home to Mongolia by way of *India* and *Tubet*. The army indeed moved out in that direction, but was obliged to return to *Peshawur*, owing to the great difficulties the routes presented. Having crossed the mountains of *Bamian*, the conqueror passed the summer of 1223 in the district of *Bakalan*, where he had left the heavy baggage. In the autumn he started again; and on passing *Balkh*, ordered the extermination of the population, who in the meanwhile had reoccupied the ruins. He then crossed the *Djihun* and advanced to Bokhara.

The winter of 1223–24 was spent near *Samarkand*. In the spring of 1224 the army marched out again. On the river Sihun, Chinghiz was joined by his sons Ogotai and Chagatai, who had been engaged in hunting near Bokhara. In the summer of 1224 he encamped in the district of *Kalan tashi*, and passed his time in hunting excursions. In February 1225 Chinghiz reached his ordo in Mongolia.[672]

[671] In note 217 I identified this name with *Parwan*, which now-a-days is the name of a defile, a river, and a little town in the Hindukush, north of Kabul. But this identification is not free from doubt; for the Mohammedan authors state that the plain of Beruan or Peruan was in the vicinity of the district of Bamian (d'Ohsson, i. 300, 301, 305, 317). Howorth ("Mongols," i. 89) states, I am not aware on what authority, that it was one day's march from Ghazna. From one passage in d'Ohsson, i. 305, one might indeed suppose that Chinghiz on his way from Bamian to Ghazna, passed by Parwan,

[672] It is not without interest that we compare these records of the Persian historians regarding Chinghiz' expedition to Western Asia with the *Si yu ki*, or narrative of Ch'ang ch'un's journey to the conqueror, who was then somewhere in the Hindukush mountains. The diarist of this journey wrote as an eye-witness, and his dates receive a stamp of authenticity from the fact, that the date he gives for the occurrence of a total solar eclipse

Let us turn now to the Chinese and Mongol records concerning the events related in the foregoing pages.

In the annals of the Yüan shi we read *sub anno* 1219: In summer, in the sixth month (of the preceding year) the envoys of the emperor had been killed in the *Si yü* (Western Asia), and the emperor determined to lead an army in person against these countries. He captured

they observed on their route, is in perfect accordance with the truth (see note 120). It may be said that all the details in the narrative with respect to Chinghiz and the war in the west agree well with the statements of the Persian authors on the subject, with the exception that, according to the latter, Chinghiz sojourned a year longer in Western Asia than the Chinese narrative will admit. I shall point out this discrepancy.

With respect to the date of Chinghiz' starting from Mongolia, both the Si yu ki and Rashid agree. The latter states that the Mongol army, having passed the whole summer of 1219 on the Irtysh river, moved out in the autumn of the same year. In the Si yu ki we read that in the fifth month of 1219 Chinghiz was in the country of the Naimans, who, as is known, dwelt on the Upper Irtysh. In April 1220, when Ch'ang ch'un arrived at Peking, he was informed that Chinghiz had left for the west on the 29th October 1221. Ch'ang ch'un met, in Western Turkestan, the envoy of the Kin, returning from Chinghiz' encampment, who had seen the latter, end of July, and who reported that he was pursuing the Sultan to India. According to Rashid, Chinghiz spent the summer of 1221 among the mountains of *Talekan* (northern spurs of the Hindukush), and did not arrive at *Bamian*, it seems, till autumn. In December 1221 Djelal-eddin was defeated on the river Sind. Ch'ang ch'un, after his arrival at Samarkand, December 3, 1221, went twice to the encampment of Chinghiz. The first time he started from Samarkand on April 26, 1222, crossed the Oxus on May 10th, saw the emperor on the 16th, and went with him to pass the summer in the snowy mountains. According to Rashid, Chinghiz was at that time in the plain of *Beruan* in the Hindukush. In June Ch'ang ch'un returned to Samarkand; he set out for the second time on September 14th, and arrived in fourteen days at the encampment of the emperor, which seems then to have been at a distance of only three days journey from the Oxus (*i.e.*, south of the river); for according to the Si yu ki the emperor subsequently set out for the north on October 3d and crossed the Amu on the 6th. Ch'ang ch'un accompanied Chinghiz on his way to Samarkand, where they arrived in November 1222. Chinghiz' encampment was 30 *li* east of the city. In March 1223 Ch'ang ch'un was with the emperor on their homeward journey, east of the Sihun, it seems, near Tashkend, when the latter was hunting in the eastern mountains; and on the 9th the emperor remarked to the sage: "In three or four days my sons will arrive." All the events here reported from the Chinese narrative are corroborated by Rashid; only there is a discrepancy of just a year between the dates in the two accounts. As I have stated above, according to Rashid it was

the city of *O-t'a-la* (Otrar), and the chief of this place, by name *Ha-dji-rh dji-lan to*,[673] was made prisoner.

Ibidem, *s. a.* 1220: In the third month the emperor took the city of *Bu-hua* (Bokhara), and in the fifth month *Sün-sz'-kan* (Samarkand). After this he pitched his camp at *Ye-shi-di-shi*.[674] In the autumn *Wo-t'o-lo-rh* was captured.

Ibidem, *s. a.* 1221: In the spring the emperor besieged the cities of *Bu-ha-rh* and *Sie-mi-sz'-kan*.[675] *Dju-ch'i*, the (eldest) son of the emperor, took the cities of *Yang-ghi-kan* and *Ba-rh-djen*.[676] In summer, in the fourth

not till the spring of 1223 that Chinghiz determined to return home; he spent the winter of 1223–24 near Samarkand. In the summer of 1224, having crossed the Sihun, he was hunting in the district of *Kalan tashi*, which answers, it seems, to *Tashkend*. I think the Chinese narrative gives the correct dates, and the Persian author has been mistaken in retaining Chinghiz a year longer in Western Asia.

673 Here evidently *Inaldjuk Gaïr Khan* (*v. supra*, p. 276) is meant.

674 According to the Persian authors, Chinghiz encamped in the summer of 1220 between Samarkand and Nakhsheb.

675 The Chinese historians who compiled the Yüan shi from official documents have been misled by the different spellings of the names of the same cities in different reports; for *O-t'a-la* and *Wo-t'a-la-rh* both are intended for Ortar; *Bu-hua* and *Bu-ha-rh* both for Bokhara; *Sün-sz'-kan* and *Sie-mi-sze-kan* both for Samarkand. Thus they report the capture of the cities of Ortar, Bokhara, and Samarkand twice under different years. Owing to this mistake some chronological confusion has crept into the Yüan shi with respect to the first Mongol expedition to Western Asia. The events, however, are recorded there with tolerable correctness.

676 The last two names answer, it seems, to *Yanghikand* and *Barkhaligkand* of the Persian authors (*v. supra*, p. 278). The ruins of the first still exist, south-west of Fort Kazalinsk, at a distance of about two English miles from the left border of the Syr-daria, and about one day's journey from the mouth of the river. See Lerch's interesting investigations regarding the ancient cities of the Lower Sihun in his "Archæol. Journey to Turkestan" in 1867. Yanghikand is first mentioned by Ibn Haukal and Mas'udi in the tenth century. See also Abulfeda, II. ii. 216. We read in Pl. Carpini's narrative (747, 750), "De terra Cangitarum (Kankly) intravimus terram *Biserminorum* (Mohammedan Turks in Central Asia). . . . In hac terra invenimus urbes innumeras subversas, et castella diruta, et villas multas desertas. In hac terra est quidam fluvius magnus cujus nomen ignoramus (the Sihun), super quem est civitas quædam quæ vocatur *Ianckint*, et alia quæ vocatur *Barchin*, et alia quæ vocatur *Ornas* (in some manuscripts *Orpar*)," &c. There can be no doubt that Carpini's Ianckint and Barchin

month, the emperor moved out to an encampment near the *T'ie men kuan* (Iron-gate pass).[677] Here he gave audience to an envoy of the *Kin*.[678] In the autumn the city of *Ban-le-ho* (Balkh) was taken.[679] The princes *Dju-ch'i*, *Ch'a-ho-t'ai* (Chagatai), and *Wo-k'uo-t'ai* (Ogotai) captured the city of *Yü-lung-ghie-ch'i* (Urghendj) and other places. In winter, in the tenth month, the prince *T'o-lei* (Tului) took the cities of *Ma-lu-ch'a-ye-k'o*,[680] *Ma-lu* (Meru or Merv), and *Si-la-sz'*.[681]

Ibid., *s. a.* 1222: The prince *T'o-lei* took the cities of *T'u-sz'* (Tus) and *Ni-ch'a-wu-rh* (Nishabur); and when returning he devastated the kingdom of the *Mu-la-yi*.[682] T'o-lei next crossed the river *Shuo-shuo-lan*,[683] captured the city of *Ye-li*[684] and other places, and then joined the

represent Yanghikand and Barkhaligkand of the Persian authors, and Yang-ghi-kan and Ba-rh-djen of the Yüan shi. As to *Ornas*, the commentators of Carpini have been much puzzled to identify it. Some believe that Otrar was meant, and others identify it with Urghendj. Lerch thinks that by Ornas Carpini intended *Eshnass* (*v. supra*, p. 278).

I may observe that the ancient city of Yanghikand, near the mouth of the Sihun, is not to be confounded with a city noticed in the "Memoirs of Sultan Baber" (beginning of the sixteenth century) under the name of *Yanghi* or *Taraz kand* (Taras), north of Ferghana, in Turkestan. The same is also mentioned 360 *li* east of Sairam in the Chinese history of the Ming in the fifteenth century.

677 About this defile see note 211.

678 It does not seem that here the envoy *Wu ku sun* is meant (see Part I. No. 2), for his audience is spoken of in particular in the annals of the Yüan shi under the next year.

679 In the Chinese annals Kang mu, *Tie-li-mi* (Termed) is mentioned before Balkh, among the cities captured by Chinghiz.

680 *Maruchak*, a district subject to Merv (d'Ohsson, i. 280). A place of this name still exists south-east of Merv near the Russian-Afghan frontier.

681 *Seraks*, south-west of Merv. D'Ohsson, i. 281.

682 The *Mulahida* or Ismaelians, who had their principal seats in *Kuhistan* and in the Elburs mountains. D'Ohsson, iii. 157, 158.

683 See Quatremère's "Vie de Shah Rock" in "Notices d. Manusc.," XIV. i. p. 18. Shah Rock came to meet Timur, his father, at the river *Djokdjoran*. According to the "Zafernameh," vi. 23, this river is on the road from Nishabur to Andkhui, and between Nishabur and the Murghab river. Perhaps the *Herirud* is meant. See also note 701.

684 *Herat* or *Heri* as it was generally called in the Middle Ages, known

emperor. Together they stormed the fortress of *T'a-li-han* (Talekan); and in order to avoid the great heat of summer, the emperor pitched his camp near this city.[685] *Dja-lan-ding*, the king of the *Si yü* (Western Asia), was joined by *Mie-li K'o-han*.[686] The Mongol general *Hu-tu-hu*,[687] who gave them battle, was defeated, and Djalan-ding fled. The general *Ba-la*[688] was sent in pursuit, but he was unable to capture him.

In the biography of *Su-bu-t'ai*,[689] Yüan shi, chap. cxxi., some particulars are found regarding the pursuit of Mohammed Shah of Khorazm, with which, according to the Persian authors, the generals *Chebe noyen* and *Subutai bahadur* had been entrusted. Mohammed in this biography is erroneously called *Melik*, and, it seems, confounded with *Timur-melik*.[690] We read there: When the emperor invaded the kingdom of the *Hui-hui* (Mohamme-

to the ancients under the name of *Aria*. On the Catalan map of the year 1375 appended to Yule's "Cathay," this name is spelt *Eri*. It reads *Harah* on Yule's map of the Nestorian metropolitan sees. See also note 49.

[685] As we have seen the Persian authors also state that Chinghiz spent the summer among the mountains of *Talekan*, but record this fact under the year 1221.

[686] *Djelal-eddin*, the son of Mohammed Shah, and *Melik Khan*. By the latter name probably the intrepid *Timur melik* is meant, the faithful companion of Djelal-eddin.

[687] The *Shiki Kutuku* of the Mohammedan authors. He was defeated by Djelal-eddin in the plain of Peruan. Kutuku was Chinghiz' foster-son. See d'Ohsson, i. 304.

[688] *Bela* of the Persian authors (*see* p. 282).

[689] This was the name of one of the most distinguished generals in the Mongol army. He is repeatedly mentioned by the Persian authors as well as in the Yüan shi, and his name is met with even in the ancient Russian annals. Rashid, treating of the *Uriankhits*, states that *Subutai* belonged to that Mongol tribe (Berezin, i. 145). In the Yüan shi (chap. cxxi.) he has a long biography, in which all his exploits in China, Western Asia, Russia, and Hungary are recorded with some detail. I shall give successively in the proper places translations from his biography. The Yüan shi states that *Su-bu-t'ai* belonged to the *Meng-gu* (Mongol) tribe of the *Wu-liang-ha*. His ancestors were hunting together with the ancestors of Chinghiz on the river *Wa-nan* (Onon). Su-bu-t'ai entered Chinghiz' army in the beginning of the thirteenth century.

[690] In the biography of the Uigur prince *Ba-rh-dju* (*v. supra*, p. 250) Mohammed Shah is termed *Han Mie-li Su-tan* (Khan Melik Sultan).

dans), the ruler of it, *Mie-li*, fled and abandoned his throne. Then *Su-bu-t'ai* and *Dje-bie* (see note 592) received orders to pursue him. They arrived at the river *Hui-li*, where Dje-bie attacked the enemy, but without success. Then Su-bu-t'ai made a great fire on the eastern bank of the river, to mislead the enemy with respect to the Mongol forces. Mie-li was struck with fear, and fled the same night. Su-bu-t'ai with a host of 10,000 men went in pursuit, passed *Bu-han ch'uan*[691] and the city of *Bi-li-han*.[692] He pursued Mie-li uninterruptedly day and night through countries destitute of water (the deserts of Khorassan). Finally, when he was about to catch him, Mie-li fled to an island in the sea, where he died a month after. Su-bu-t'ai captured all his treasures, precious stones, silver vessels, &c., and sent them to the emperor.

In the Yüan shi, annals, 1223, we read: In order to avoid the heat of the summer, the emperor moved to the valley *Ba-lu-wan*;[693] after which he was joined by the princes *Dju-ch'i*, *Cha-ho-t'ai*, and *Wo-k'uo-t'ai*, and the general *Ba-la*, on their return from their expeditions.[694] When the conquered realms in the *Si yü* had been pacified, *da-lu-hua-ch'i*[695] were appointed to govern them.

Ibidem, *s. a.* 1224: The emperor advanced as far as

[691] *I.e.*, the valley or river of *Bu-han*. I am not prepared to identify either the *Hui-li* or the *Bu-han* rivers. Probably the names are misspelt. One of them is evidently intended for the *Djihun* (Oxus, Amu-daria).

[692] This is probably *Balkh*. According to the Persian authors, Subutai and Chebe crossed the Djihun at Penjab and proceeded to Balkh (d'Ohsson, i. 245).

[693] The plain of *Beruan* or *Peruan* in Rashid's record. See note 671.

[694] The Chinese annals *Kang mu* state, *s. a.* 1223, that the emperor spent the summer on the river *Ba-lu-wan*, and sent his troops to subdue the neighbouring tribes. When he subsequently had moved out and reached the fort of *K'o-wen*, he was joined by his generals. K'o-wen is probably the *Gunaun Kuryan* of the Persian authors (*v. supra*, p. 283); perhaps the Khewek pass in the Hindukush, mentioned by Sultan Baber.

[695] *Daruga*, Mongol governor. See note 174, and d'Ohsson, 410.

the kingdom of Eastern *Yin-du* (Hindustan), where he met the *küe-tuan*,[696] and then turned back.

Ibidem, *s. a.* 1225: In spring, in the first month, the emperor returned (from Western Asia) to his *hing kung* (ordo; see note 137).[697]

In the *Yüan ch'ao pi shi* we find a more detailed description of the military doings of Chinghiz in the west. The events, however, are not recorded there in chronological order, and there is some confusion also in its statements. I do not wish to trouble the reader with a complete translation, and will therefore confine myself to quoting from this ancient Mongol record only such passages as may present special interest.

The year 1219 is given also in the Yüan ch'ao pi shi as the date of Chinghiz' departure for the countries of the west, in accordance with the Persian authors and the Yüan shi. Chinghiz entrusted his brother *Ocheghin*,[698] it is said there, with the government of the Mongol empire, and took with him his wife *Hu-lan*;[699] *Djebe* having command of the avant-guard, and *Subutai* of the rear.

The following names of places are mentioned in connection with the first Mongol expedition to Western Asia:—*Udarar* (Otrar), *Bukhar* (Bokhara), *Siemisghien* (Samarkand), and *Niesghiab* (Nakhsheb).

Djochi, *Djaadai* (Chagatai), and *Ogedai* received orders

[696] By *küe tuan* (upright horn) the Chinese chroniclers understand a fabulous animal, which is said to have advised Chinghiz to go back and cease his conquests. Further particulars regarding it may be seen in Ye-lü Ch'u ts'ai's biography, Yüan shi, chap. cxlvi.

[697] This date is in accordance with the Persian authors.

[698] See note 102.

[699] We read in the same Yüan ch'ao pi shi that in the year 1204 *Dair usun*, of the tribe *Iloasze Mierke*, surrendered to Chinghiz, and gave him his daughter *Hu-lan*. In the list of the Mongol empresses, Yüan shi, chap. cvi., *Hu-lan* appears as the second wife of Chinghiz. Compare also d'Ohsson, i. 90, 841. *Dair ussun*, chief of the *Uhus Merkits*, surrendered, according to Rashid, to Chinghiz on the river *Tar*, and gave him his daughter *Kulan*.

to cross the river *Amuy* (Amu, Oxus) and attack the city *Urunghechi* (Urghendj). When they had reached the city, they sent to Chinghiz to ask who should take the command. Chinghiz ordered Ogodai to take it.[700] *Tului* took the cities of *Isiepur* (Nishabur), *Chukhchelien*,[701] *Ilu* (Herat), and *Sisten* (Sistan).

The prince *Mielik* (Timur-melik) fled and joined *Djalalding*, the king of *Sartol* (country of the Sarts). When they intended to attack Chinghiz, the latter ordered *Shighi Hutuhu*[702] to command the avant-guard; but he was defeated by Djalalding, who pursued him near to the place where Chinghiz was encamped. The latter then sent *Djebie*, *Subietai*, and *Tohuchar* against Djalalding, who was beaten.[703] He tried at first to escape towards *Bukhar;* but not succeeding, he fled to the river *Shin*,[704] to which point he was pursued. Nearly all his troops were drowned in the river; but Djalalding and Mielik escaped. *Bala*, who was sent in pursuit, crossed the river *Shin* and proceeded to the country of Hindu. Not being able to find Djalalding, he captured a number of camels and sheep, and returned.

Chinghiz then went up the river *Shin*, took the city of *Batkesie*, arrived at the rivers *Ekie horohan* and *Geun horohan*,[705] and pitched his camp at *Baruan keher*.[706]

[700] The Persian authors notice the quarrel of Djuchi and Chagatai, interfering with the progress of the siege of Urghendj. Chinghiz appointed his younger son Ogotai to superintend the siege.

[701] The Yüan shi mentions a river *Shuo-shuo-lan*, which seems to represent the same name. See note 683.

[702] *Shiki Kutuku* of Rashid. See note 687.

[703] This is an erroneous statement; for Chinghiz himself went to attack Djelal-eddin. Subutai and Chebe at that time were in the countries near the Caucasus. As to *Toguchar*, he had been killed before, in 1220, as Rashid reports, at the siege of Nishabur.

[704] No doubt the *Indus* or *Sindh* is meant. In the narrative of Fa hien, the Chinese Buddhist monk, who went to India about A.D. 400, the name of this river reads *Sin-du*. Hüan Thsang, in the seventh century, calls it *Sin*. The original Sanscrit name is *Sindhu*, meaning "river."

[705] Rashid's *Gunaun kurgan*, near the sources of the Sindh. See note 694.

[706] Rashid's plain of *Beruan*. See notes 671 and 693. *Keher* in Mongo means "a steppe."

According to the Yüan ch'ao pi shi, Chinghiz spent one summer, it is not clear in what year, in the mountains *Altan horhuan*, where the king of the Mohammedans was accustomed to encamp. Finally, we read in the same Mongol annals that Chinghiz, in the seventh year after he left Mongolia, in the autumn of 1225, returned to his principal encamping-place *Karatun*,[707] on the river *Tula*.[708]

The accounts given in the *Ts'in cheng lu* of Chinghiz' conquest of Western Asia are remarkable for their strong accordance with Rashid's records. There is only a difference in the dates, the Ts'in cheng lu being a year in advance. I shall present a complete translation of these accounts.

In the year 1219 Chinghiz moved out at the head of a great host to subjugate the western countries. He spent the summer of 1220 on the river *Yerdishi* (Irtysh). In the autumn he started again, and captured all the cities on his way. Thus the army arrived at *O-to-la-rh* (Otrar). Chinghiz left his second and third sons to invest this place, which was soon taken by assault, and in 1221 marched himself with his fourth son upon *Bu-ha-rh* (Bokhara). This city was captured, and also *Sie-mi-sz'-kan* (Samarkand). Chinghiz' eldest son captured the cities of *Yang-ghi-kan* (Yanghikand), *Ba-rh-djin*, and others (see note 676). Chinghiz spent the summer in the summer residence of the *su-wan-tan* (sultan) of the *Siyü* (Western Asia).[709] Subsequently he ordered *Hu-tu-*

[707] The Chinese text of the Yüan ch'ao pi shi renders *Karatun* by *Hei lin* (black forest); and in the Yüan shi, Hei lin is also frequently mentioned as a favourite encamping-place of Chinghiz. Rashid terms the same place *Karaun kabdjal*, explaining that it means "black forest" (d'Ohsson, i. 73). Indeed *kara* in Mongol means "black," and *oi* (genitive *oin*) "forest;" *kabdjal* = defile.

[708] Now-a-days the Mongols pronounce the name of this river *To'la*. The city of Urga is situated on it.

[709] According to Rashid, Chinghiz, after the capture of Samarkand, spent the summer in the country between this city and *Nakhsheb* (Karshi);

hu no-yen to take command of the avant-guard.[710] In the autumn of the same year he sent his eldest, second, and third sons with the right flank of the army to attack *Yü-lung-kie-dji* (Urghendj) and *Bu-djin-ye-ha-da* (?). Chinghiz' third son was entrusted with the chief command. The emperor himself with the main army marched upon the *Iron-gate* (see note 211), captured *Tie-rh-mi* (Termed), destroyed *Ban-le-ho* (Balkh), and then besieged *Ta-li-han* (Talekan). In the winter the fourth prince took the cities of *Ma-lu-ch'a-ye-k'o* (Maruchak), *Wu-lu*,[711] *Si-la-sz'* (Serakhs), *Ni-sha-wu-rh* (Nishabur), and *Ye-li* (Heri or Herat).

In the spring of 1222 the fourth prince captured *T'u-sz'* (Tus) and *Ni-sha-wu-rh*.[712] At the beginning of the hot season he received orders to make haste to join his father; but before doing so he made an incursion into the country of the *Mu-la-di* (see note 682), devastated it, crossed the river *So-so-lan* (see notes 683 and 701), and sacked *Ye-li* (Herat). When the fourth prince had joined the emperor, they attacked *Ta-li-han* in concert. Chinghiz' three eldest sons had at that time taken the city of *Yü-lung-kie-dji* (Urghendj), and the eldest prince had arrived at his father's camp.[713] The second and third sons came only when the fortress had been destroyed.

Meanwhile *Dja-lan-ding*, the *su-li-t'an* of the *Si yü*, had fled. Chinghiz had sent *Dje-bie*, who commanded

thus probably in the mountains south of Samarkand. We have seen that the Yüan ch'ao pi shi locates the summer residence of the Sultan in the mountains *Altan horhuan*.

[710] See note 687.

[711] This name is probably misspelt for *Ma-lu*, Meru or Merv.

[712] The name of Nishabur occurs here for the second time. Indeed, according to the Persian authors, this place was twice sacked.

[713] According to the Persian authors, Djuchi, the eldest son of Chinghiz, after the quarrel with his brother (see note 700), did not join his father. He died in 1225 without having seen Chinghiz. The Yüan ch'ao pi shi, however, states, in accordance with the Ts'in cheng lu, that after the fall of Urghendj, Djuchi, Chagatai, and Ogotai repaired to the camp of their father.

the avant-guard, in pursuit, and despatched another corps under *Su-bu-t'ai* to assist Dje-bie. *T'o-hu-ch'a-rh* commanded the rear. Dje-bie proceeded to the city of *Mie-li-k'o-han*,[714] but passed without attacking it. Su-bu-t'ai did the same; but T'o-hu-ch'a-rh had a skirmish with the troops outside the city. Mie-li-k'o-han was then struck with fear, left the city and fled. *Hu-du-hu no-yen* went in pursuit, but Mie-li-k'o-han succeeded in joining Dja-lan-ding. The latter then attacked Hu-du-hu and defeated him. A courier was despatched to Chinghiz with a report; whereupon the latter with a corps of *élite* troops left the mountains of Ta-li-han and marched rapidly upon the enemy, pursued him to the river *Sin-tze-su*,[715] made Mie-li prisoner, and destroyed his army. Dja-lan-ding escaped, jumped into the river and swam across it. Chinghiz sent a corps under *Ba-la no-yen* in pursuit of him. Ba-la was not able to catch the prince, but captured half of the Hindus, and returned.

In the spring of 1223 Chinghiz moved out with his army and proceeded northward, following the course of the Sin-tze su. (Here is a break in the MS.)

The third prince reached the city of *Bu-si-sze-dan*,[716] and asked permission of Chinghiz to attack it, but the emperor recalled his son in view of the hot season commencing. He spent the summer with his troops on the river *Ba-lu-wan* (Beruan), and defeated the enemy in the adjacent countries. After the arrival of the corps of Ba-la, the army moved to the west, and when they had reached the fort of *Ke-un* (see note 694), the third prince also arrived. When Chinghiz had captured the western countries he placed a *da-lu-hua-ch'i* [717] in every city.

[714] I am not able to say what place is meant. The accounts here are somewhat confused.

[715] The river *Sindh*. *Su* in Mongol = water, river.

[716] Probably the ancient city of *Bost* in *Seyistan* is meant. See d'Ohsson, i. 298, 317. According to Rashid, Ogotai asked permission to attack *Sistan*, but Chinghiz objected owing to the excessive heat.

[717] *Daruga*, a Mongol governor. See note 695.

In the year 1224 Chinghiz started on his homeward route, and in the spring of 1225 reached his native land, after an absence of seven years.

2. EXPEDITION OF THE MONGOL GENERALS SUBUTAI AND CHEBE TO WESTERN PERSIA AND THE REGIONS OF THE CAUCASUS, A.D. 1220–24.

I may again commence with the records of the Mohammedan authors (d'Ohsson, i. 324, 444 *segg.*). We have seen that in 1220 Chinghiz had sent out two corps under the command of Subutai and Chebe in pursuit of Mohammed Shah. They ravaged Irak Adjem and Mazanderan, and after the miserable end of Mohammed they continued to carry fire and slaughter over Persia. The cities of *Rayi*, *Kum*, *Hamadan*, *Kazvin*, and *Zendjan* were sacked. The two generals then advanced on *Tebriz*, the capital of *Azerbaidjan*, which province was ruled by the Atabeg *Euzbeg*, a Turkish prince. He bought off the Mongols by rich presents, who then evacuated Azerbaidjan and wintered in the plain of *Mogan*, on the shore of the Caspian Sea. In the beginning of the year 1221 they advanced into Georgia nearly as far as *Tiflis*, and defeated the Georgian army. After this they returned to *Tebriz*, levied a second contribution upon that city, and then attacked *Meraga*. Meanwhile the inhabitants of *Hamadan* had killed the Mongol governor placed there; whereupon the Mongol army proceeded to that city, which was taken and destroyed. Returning to the north, the Mongols captured *Erdebil*, and appeared for the third time at Tebriz. Euzbeg fled to *Nakhshevan*, and Tebriz again paid ransom. After this the Mongol host was directed against Georgia, and an army of 30,000 Georgians was destroyed. Having ravaged the latter country, the Mongols turned upon *Shirvan*, and captured its capital, *Shamakha*. Rashid Shah of Shirvan had taken refuge in the citadel of *Derbend*. The

Mongols had no difficulty in taking the city, but could not capture its citadel. As they intended to cross the Caucasus, they were in need of good leaders; and by means of cunning and force they obliged the envoys of Rashid to guide them across the mountains.

On the other side of the Caucasus they found the *Alans* or *Ases*, the *Lezghis*, the *Circassians*, and the *Kipchaks* leagued together against them. A battle was fought, but the victory remained undecided. The Mongols then had recourse to craft, and persuaded the Kipchaks to desert their allies, who were attacked and vanquished. After this the city of *Terki* was sacked, and the Mongols invaded the land of the Kipchaks, who dispersed without offering any resistance. A great number of them fled to the Russians, and the Mongols took possession of their country, consisting of vast steppes, and advanced as far as the rich city of *Sudak*,[718] which was subject to the Kipchaks.

In 1223 the Mongols undertook an expedition against the *Russians*, who had made a league with the Kipchaks. Their united forces marched out to meet the enemy before they had entered the Russian territories. The Mongols employed their usual stratagem; they first retreated, and after being followed twelve days by the Russians and Kipchaks, lay in ambush, and suddenly rushed out upon the enemy. A battle was fought with great slaughter, which continued several days; finally, the Mongols got the victory, the Russians and Kipchaks being utterly defeated.[719] After that the Mongols entered Russia, and carried fire and slaughter over the country.

At the close of the year 1223 the Mongols evacuated Russia and invaded the land of the *Bulgars* on the Kama

[718] *Sudak* or *Soldaya*, situated on the south-eastern coast of the Krimea and on the Khazarian Sea (Black Sea). It was in the Middle Ages an important Genoese entrepôt.

[719] The author of the "Kamil ut Tevarikh," from which the above account is borrowed, means evidently the battle at the river *Kalka* (see farther on).

and Middle Volga. The forces sent by the latter to repulse the invaders were defeated. The Mongols then took the route by *Saccasin* [720] to join the main army and Chinghiz.

The Russian annals (Karamzin, iii. 221 *seqq.*) give, of course, a more detailed account of the Mongol invasion of Russia than the Mohammedan authors. Russia was at that time divided into several principalities, of which *Suzdal* (*Vladimir*) was the most important, and whose Grand Duke to a certain degree was accepted as feudal lord by the rest. The residence of the Grand Duke was first in *Kiev*, but after 1169 he dwelt in Vladimir. Amongst the *Polovtsy* (thus the Russian annals term the Kipchaks) who had fled to Russia there was a Prince *Kotian* (Kutan in the Hungarian annals), who persuaded his son-in-law, the Prince *Mstislav* of *Galich*, of the necessity of taking measures against the Mongols. Mstislav then assembled the princes of Southern Russia at Kiev, who agreed to make common cause with the Polovtsy against the *Tatars* (thus the Mongols are always styled in the Russian annals). The princes of *Kiev*, *Chernigov*, *Galich* (all three had the name *Mstislav*), and others assembled their forces on the Dnieper. There they received ten ambassadors from the Mongols. These ambassadors were put to death. After this the Russian forces marched out, and first met the Tatars near the river *Khortitsa* (an affluent of the Dnieper, about fifty English miles south of Ekaterinoslav). Having gained the victory, the Russians crossed the Dnieper and pursued the Mongols nine days to the river *Kalka*. Mstislav of Galich together with the Polovtsy ventured to attack the main body of the Mongols after crossing the river. But they were defeated, and then the Mongols rushed upon the remaining part of

[720] The name of *Saksin* is already mentioned in the twelfth century by the Mohammedan authors. It was applied to a city situated on the lower Itil (Volga) and also to the people there. *Saksins* of the Russian annals (Karamzin, iii. 270). These Saksins in 1229 first informed the Bolgars and Russians of the approach of the Mongols. The *Saxi* of Plano Carpini (710) are probably the same. See also Dorn's "Caspia," 23.

the Russian army and completely destroyed it. This was the famous battle on the river *Kalka*, which took place in 1222 or 1223.[721] The Mongols pursued the Russians as far as the Dnieper. Some of the Russian princes who had been made prisoners were fastened to planks upon which the Mongols sat to perform a drinking bout.

Chinese fragmentary accounts of the Mongol expedition under Subutai and Chebe are found in the *Yüan shi* in the biographies of two distinguished generals of Chinghiz.

In the biography of *Su-bu-t'ai*, already quoted, we read (after the pursuit of Mohammed has been recorded): Su-bu-t'ai asked the favour to be allowed to conquer the country of the *Kïn-ch'a* (Kipchak). He conducted his army round the sea *K'uan-t'ien-ghi-sz'*,[722] and arrived at the mountain *T'ai huo ling*,[723] through which an artificial road was cut. On the other side Su-bu-t'ai met the chiefs (of the Kipchaks, it seems) *Yü-li-ghi*[724] and

[721] It is strange that the Russian chroniclers are not in accordance with respect to the date of this battle. The Woznesensk annals give the 16th of June 1224; the annals of Novgorod, the 31st of May of the same year as the day when this battle took place. In other Russian annals the battle is recorded under the year 1223 (Karamzin, iii. 545). This latter date would agree with the year the Mohammedan authors allege for the first invasion of Russia by the Mongols. Mr. Kunik, the well-known inquirer into the history of Russia, thinks that 1223 is the correct date for this event; but Bonnel in his "Chronologie Heinrichs des Letten," 1853, seems to prove that the battle at the Kalka river was fought in 1222. See "Mélanges Asiat. de l'Acad. d. Sc. St. Petersbourg," ii. 462.

The river *Kalka* (some Russian chroniclers write *Kalak*) is identified by Karamzin (iii. 232) with the river *Kalets*, an affluent of the *Kalmius*, which discharges itself into the sea of Azov near Mariupol.

[722] According to d'Herbelot's "Bibl. Orient.," the Turks called the Caspian Sea *denghiz*, which means "sea" (*t'ien-ghi-sz'* in the above name). The first character, *K'uan*, means "large" in Chinese, but it is more probable that it is intended here to represent a foreign sound. *Kuan* in the Uigur language, and probably also in other Turkish dialects, means "a lake."

[723] Literally "the mountain range of great peace." This name evidently denotes the *Caucasus*.

[724] According to the Russian annals, one of the khans of the Polovtsy

T'a-t'a-ha-rh, who had rallied their troops on the river *Bu-dsu*. The son of *Yü-li-ghi* was wounded by an arrow and fled into the forest. His slave came (to the Mongols) and betrayed his master. Subsequently all submitted; and after the country of the *Kin-ch'a* had been conquered, Su-bu-t'ai penetrated as far as the river *A-li-ghi*,[725] where he met the chiefs of the *Wa-lo-sz'* (Russians), the great and the little *Mi-ch'-sz'-lao*.[726] A battle was fought, when the latter were defeated. When they had surrendered, Su-bu-t'ai subdued the *A-su* (the Asi or Alans), and then returned home, taking with him the slave who had betrayed his master. The emperor, having heard his story, said to Su-bu-t'ai, "We can scarcely expect fidelity from this man," and ordered him to be put to death. On the proposal of Su-bu-t'ai a special corps had been formed, consisting of *Mie-li-k'i* (Merkits), *Nai-man*, and *Kin-ch'a* (Kipchaks), who accompanied that general on his return home. He proceeded by the way of *Ye-mi-li* (*Imil*; see note 313) and *Ho-dji*.[727]

In the biography of *Ho-sz'-mai-li* (*vide supra*, p. 233) the Mongol expedition to Western Persia and the countries near the Caucasus is also shortly recorded. We read there (after the pursuit of Mohammed Shah to Mazanderan has been related), the emperor sent *Dje-bo* (see note 592) to attack the *Kin-ch'a*, and Ho-sz'-mai-li received orders (from Dje-bo) to march against the *K'ü-rh-t'e* [728] and *Shi-rh-wan Sha*,[729] and to advance

(Kipchaks), by name *Yury Konchakowich*, was killed by the Mongols in 1223 (Karamzin, iii. 228).

[725] Probably the *Kalka* river is meant.

[726] As we have seen, three princes *Mstislav* fought in the battle at the Kalka.

[727] A country *Hu-dji-rh* is mentioned in the itinerary of *Ye-lü Hi liang* (*v. supra*, p. 161).

[728] Probably the *Kurds* are meant. The Mohammedan authors report (d'Ohsson, i. 327) that the Turkomans and the Kurds entered the service of the Mongols; and when the latter invaded Georgia, the Turkomans and Kurds formed the avant-guard.

[729] Rashid Shah of *Shirwan*, who fled to Derbend (*v. supra*, p. 294).

upon several cities, summoning them to surrender. Ho-sz'-mai-li then proceeded to the country of *Gu-rh-dji*,[730] and marched against another people called *A-su* (Asi or Alans), capturing the city of *Hei-lin*.[731] After this the *Wa-lo-sz'* (Russians) were defeated at *T'ie-rh-shan*,[732] and their king, *Mi-dji-sze-la* (Mstislav), was taken prisoner. Dje-bo ordered Ho-sz'-mai-li to convey this king to the emperor's (eldest) son, Dju-ch'i, where he was put to death. Subsequently the *K'ang-li* (Kankalis) were attacked, the city of *Bo-tze-ba-li* was captured, and the king of this country, named *Ho-t'o-sze-han*, surrendered. After the Kin-ch'a were subdued, the (Mongol) army returned, and Dje-bo died.

3. EXPEDITION OF THE MONGOLS TO THE COUNTRIES NORTH OF THE CASPIAN SEA AND WEST OF THE VOLGA, A.D. 1235–42.

In this chapter I shall review the invasion of the countries of the *Kipchaks*, the *Asi*, and the *Bulgars*, as also the ravaging of *Russia*, *Poland*, *Silesia*, and *Hungary* by the Mongols, comparing Western accounts with the statements of the Chinese and Mongols, as I have done in the previous chapter.

When Chinghiz and his generals had ravaged Persia, the countries of the Caucasus, and Southern Russia, A.D. 1220–24, the warlike enterprises of the Mongols towards the west were stopped for some years, the armies being occupied in the east with the conquest of the Kin empire in Northern China. In the beginning of 1234 the dynasty of the Kin was overthrown, and Ogotai Khan

[730] *Kurdj* is the name by which Abulfeda (ii. 286) designates the Georgians, the *Giorgiani* of Plano Carpini (748), the *Curgi* sive *Georgini* of Rubruck (383).

[731] *Hei lin* means "black forest" in Chinese. But perhaps a foreign name is rendered by these two characters.

[732] The third character in this name, *shan*, means "hill." *T'ie* = iron.

(1229–42) then resumed the conquest of the countries in the west, commenced by his father.

The Tarikh Djihan Kushai states (d'Ohsson, ii. 15) that already in 1229 Ogotai had sent an army of 30,000 men, under the command of the generals *Gueuktai* and *Sunodai*, to conquer the countries of the *Kipchaks*, *Sakasins*,[733] and *Bulgars*.[734] This expedition seems to be alluded to in the Russian annals. Karamzin (iii. 270) states: After the battle of the Kalka, for six years nothing was heard of the Tatars; but in the year 1229 certain *Saksins* and *Polovtsy* from the Lower Volga, who fled from the Tatars, came to take refuge in the country of the Bulgars. At the same time the news arrived that the Bulgar troops posted at the river *Iaik* (Ural) had been defeated by the Tatars. But the latter tarried, for it was not till six years later that *Baty* (Batu) appeared at the Volga and wintered near the capital of the Bulgars.

The *Yüan ch'ao pi shi* states: The emperor (Ogotai) ordered the valiant *Subietai* to subdue the *Eleven Nations* in the north (who were not yet subject to the Mongols), viz., the *Kanglin*, the *Kibcha*, the *Ubadjighi*, the *Ulusu*, the *Madjar*, the *Asu*, the *Siesu*, the *Sierkesu*, *Keshimir*, *Bular*, and *Lala*,—to cross the two rivers *Djayakh* and *Idil*, and to march directly upon *Kiva Mien Kermen*.

These eleven nations and the cities against which Subutai had been ordered to wage war are twice more enumerated in the Yüan ch'ao pi shi, with some variations in the spelling of the names. There appear also two new names, *Mieghie* or *Meketmeng* and *Kelie*. I shall try to identify these names, as far as my acquaintance with the mediæval geography of the regions here spoken of may enable me.

[733] See note 720.

[734] At the same time another army, commanded by *Charmogun*, had been directed to Persia.

The KANGLIN of the Yüan ch'ao pi shi are, without doubt, the same as the KANKALIS or KANKLY of the Mohammedan authors. They lived in the beginning of the thirteenth century in the wide steppe lands east of the *Iaik* river (Ural) and north of the Lake of Khorazm (Aral). The Kipchaks (Komans) were their western neighbours.

Rashid in his accounts of the Turkish tribes (Berezin, i. 18) devotes only a few lines to the Kankly. He states that they first invented wheeled cars—*kankly* in Turkish, whence their name is derived—but says nothing about their abodes. We learn from Abulghazi (1605–64) that the Kanklys, at the accession of Chinghiz, occupied the country as far east as the *Issigol* Lake and the rivers *Chu* and *Talash* (Taras).

Two European travellers traversed in the middle of the thirteenth century the steppes where this nation then dwelt, and they have left the following short notices of them:—Plano Carpini, after quitting the country of the *Comani* (Kipchaks), states (749): "Post hoc terram intravimus *Cangitarum* quæ magnam habet in pluribus locis penuriam aquarum; in qua etiam homines pauci morantur propter aquæ defectum. . . . Et tam Comani quam Cangitæ non laborant, sed tantum de animalibus vivebant; nec ædificabant domos, sed in tabernaculis habitabant." After this Carpini entered the country of the *Biscrmin* (the Mohammedan Turks of Western Turkestan).

Rubruck terms the same people *Cangle*. Page 265: "Quidam Comani qui dicebantur Cangle." Page 274: "Cangle quedam parentela Comanorum."[735] Rubruck set out from the Volga on the 16th September 1253, and then travelled eastward through the country of the Cangle till the 1st November.

In the Chinese historical works of the Mongol period,

[735] The Kanklys and the Kipchaks or Comans belonged indeed to the same race (Turks).

the Kanklys are repeatedly spoken of, but the information the Chinese authors give about this tribe is very meagre. The name is generally spelt there *K'ang-li*, sometimes *Hang-li*. The K'ang-li were known to the Kin as early as the twelfth century. As I have stated (p. 223), a khan of that nation was desirous of becoming a vassal of the Kin emperor. In the Yüan shi the name K'ang-li occurs frequently, and especially in the biographies. As they were a warlike nation, the Mongol khans used to place them in their army, and many brave generals of the Mongol empire belonged to the Kankly.

In the biography of *Bu-hu-mu*, Yüan shi, chap. cxxx., who was a *K'ang-li*, it is stated that this nation derived their origin from the *Kao kü* (*Kao ch'e*).[736] Bu-hu-mu's son, *K'ui-k'ui*, has a separate biography in chap. cxliii.

In chap. cxxxvi. we find the biography of *A-sha-bu-hua*, who was a prince of the reigning family of the K'ang-li. It is stated there that when Chinghiz had ravaged the country of the K'ang-li, their ruler died, and left a widow belonging to the tribe of *Shen-mie gu-ma-li*. Owing to the ruined state of her affairs, she was for a long time unable to leave her country. Subsequently, however, through some miraculous agency, she was surprised on one occasion by the appearance of some richly laden camels. In consequence of this she set out with her two sons, *K'ü-lü* and *Ya-ya*, for the residence of the emperor, and after two years returned home, leaving her sons with *O-go-t'ai*. Thirteen years later she again proceeded to the Mongol court at *Ho-lin* (Karakorum) to see her sons, who were with the emperor *Meng-k'o*.[737] A-sha-bu-hua, in whose biography these details are found, was the grandson of this lady and the son of Ya-ya. A-sha-bu-hua, who was a general in Kubilai's army, died

[736] As we have seen, the Chinese historians make the Uigurs also descend from the *Kao ch'e*; see note 596. The latter name in Chinese means "high car."

[737] Her adventures have furnished the material for a Chinese drama.

in 1301. His brother, *T'o-t'o*, was a distinguished officer in Kubilai's life-guard. The title of *Yün chung wang* had been bestowed upon him. His son, *T'ie-mu-rh-ta-shi*, was minister under the last Mongol emperor, Shun ti. His biography is found in chap. cxl. Ya-ya left also a son, *Wa-t'o-man* (Othman).

Chap. 123. *Ai-mo* belonged to the tribe *Ba-du K'ang-li*. He accompanied Su-bu-t'ai noyen when the latter waged war in the country of the *Kïn-ch'a* (Kipchak). His son, *Ye-su-t'ai-rh*, distinguished himself at the conquest of the Chinese province Fu kien, and at the expedition to *Ji-pen* (Japan). He died in 1288.

Chap. 133. *Ye-su-de-rh*, the son of *Ai-bo Bo-ya-wu*.[738]

Chap. 134. *T'u-hu-lu*, in the service of Kubilai, was the ninth son of *A-li-ta-shi*, who was a grandson of the K'ang-li prince, *I-na*.

In the same chapter is the biography of *Wa-lo-sze*,[739] who was the secretary of Kubilai's successor. His father, *Ming-li T'ie-mu-rh*, had held the same office under Kubilai, and his grandfather, *Hai-du*, had served in Mangu Khan's army. His great-grandfather, *Ha-shi Bo-yao* (see note 738), had surrendered in early times to the Mongols, and had been appointed superintendent of the herds belonging to Kubilai's mother. Wa-lo-sze's son, *K'ing-t'ung*, who served under the last Mongol emperor, Shun ti, has a separate biography in chap. cxlii.

Chap. 135. *T'a-li-ch'i*, served under Kubilai, his father, *Ye-li-li-bo*, having surrendered to Chinghiz. Ibidem: *Ming-an*, also a Kankly in Kubilai's service.

Finally, in chap. ccv., under the rubric of "Villanous Officers," is the biography of the Kankly *Ha-ma*.

738 *Bo-ya-wu* is probably intended for *Bayaut*. This was, according to the Mohammedan authors (d'Ohsson, i. 197), the name of one branch of the Kanklys, to which Turkhan khatun, the mother of Mohammed Shah of Khorazm, belonged. There were a great number of Kanklys in Khorazm when the Mongols first invaded the country.

739 The name of this man is rendered by the same Chinese characters which in the Yüan shi generally represent the name of Russia.

It is generally believed (Klaproth, d'Avezac, Schott, and others), that the *Pechenegs* spoken of in the Russian annals, who occupied the steppes of Southern Russia in the tenth and eleventh centuries, and who subsequently were driven away from these tracts by the *Polovtsy* or *Kumans*, are identical with the *Kanklys*, who in the days of Chinghiz dwelt east of the Iaik. This supposition seems to be founded upon a statement of Constantine Porphyrogeneta (tenth century), that three of the most powerful tribes of the *Patzinakites* were known by the name of *Kangar*. Abulfeda (ii. 297) quotes an author of the tenth century who records that the *Bedjenaks*, a Turkish tribe, having left their original abode (in Asia), had established themselves between the Khazars and Rum (Byzantine empire). Ibn Sayd, an author who lived three centuries later, also quoted by Abulfeda (ii. 292), says that the mountains of the *Bedjnaks* are situated east of the countries of the *Kumans*. Abulfeda does not mention the Kankly. This name does not appear either, it seems, in the Mohammedan writers previous to the Mongol period.[740]

As regards the other countries, cities, and rivers enumerated in the above-quoted passages of the Yüan ch'ao pi shi, I may offer the following elucidations :—

Kibcha denotes *Kipchak*. Of this people more detailed accounts will be given in Part III.

Ubadji seems to be intended for *Obezy*, *Abazi*, or *Abkhazi*. The Abkhazes still inhabit their ancient abodes, *i.e.*, the western part of the Caucasus and the eastern shore of the Black Sea. They are called *Obezy* in the ancient Russian annals, *Ἀδασγοί* in the Byzantine annals. Plano Carpini (706–709) calls them *Obesi*, but erroneously identifies them with the Georgians. Ibn

[740] Compare Klaproth's "Tabl. Hist. de l'Asie," 279; d'Ohsson's "Peuples du Caucase," 117, 254; d'Avezac's "Carpini," 749; Schott's "Nachr. ü. d. Kunggar," 1844.

Sayd (thirteenth century), quoted by Abulfeda (ii. 286), speaks of the city of the *Abkhazes* situated on the Black Sea.

The *Ulusu* (*Oruss* in Mongol) are the Russians. See Part III.

The *Asu* (*Asut* in the Mongol text of the Yüan ch'ao pi shi, which is the plural form of Asu) are the *Asi* or *Alans* of Western mediæval authors. (See Part III.) The ancient Russian annals term them *Yasy*.

The *Madjar* are the Magyars or Hungarians.

The *Sierkesu* are the Cherkesses, the *Circasi* of Plano Carpini (748), the *Cherkis* of Rubruck (252). The Russian mediæval annals mention, among the nations subdued by the Mongols at the time they crossed the Caucasus, the *Kassogi*. Klaproth states that the ancient name of the Cherkesses was *Kassakh*, and the Ossets and Mingrelians call the Cherkesses still by this latter name.

The *Bular* (the name is written also *Pular* and *Pular-man* in the Yüan ch'ao pi shi) are the Bulgars. See Part III.

The *Siesu* (termed also *Sasu*) are probably the Saksins. See note 720.

The name of *Keshimir* occurs also among the names of countries with the conquest of which, according to the Mongol annals, Subutai had been entrusted. But Kashmir lay far out of his way; and according to the Yüan shi, it was only in 1253 that a Mongol corps was sent to that country. This fact is confirmed by Rashid. See note 368. I may, however, mention that Pl. Carpini, whose information was gathered in 1247, in enumerating the countries subdued by the Tartars (p. 708), includes *Kasmir* in his list.

We meet further with the name *Lala* among the eleven nations or countries enumerated in the Mongol annals. This name is replaced by *Kelie* where the list is given for the second time. It seems to me that by Kelie the *Kelar* of the Mohammedan authors is intended. Thus they term

the king of Hungary, as we shall see farther on, note 769. By a misunderstanding the Mongol chronicler has taken Kelar for the name of a country. Sometimes Rashid falls into the same error. Comp. Berezin's translation, ii. p. 74: "Ogotai Khan conquered Khatai and the countries of *Kelar*, Bashkurt, Pula, Desht-kipchak, Russ, Cherkess, As, &c." Again, *l. c.*, i. 2, 51, Kelar appears as the name of a country, and Rashid always associates it with Bashkurt, by which name properly the Bashkirs are meant; but Rashid applies this name also to the Hungarians (d'Ohsson, ii. 621). Comp. also Carpini, 747: "*Bascarti* vel magna Hungaria;" and Rubruck, 327: "*Pascatir* vel magna Hungaria."

The Yüan ch'ao pi shi notices two rivers which Subutai had been ordered to cross, viz., the *Djayakh* and the *Idil*.

The first of these rivers, the original Turkish name of which is *Iaik* or *Djaik*, is the *Ural* river of modern Russian maps. We find it first mentioned in the Byzantine writers. Zemarchus, sent in 569 by the Byzantine emperor to the khan of the Turks, on his way back came to the *Daich* river, and then to the *Attila* (Volga). Constantine Porphyrogenita (tenth century) calls the Iaik Γεήχ (Yule's "Cathay," clxvi.). As I have stated above, the ancient Russian annals write this name *Yaik*. Pl. Carpini styles the same river (743) *Jaec;* Rubruck (274), *Jagac*. In Haithon's itinerary the name reads *Jaic*. On the Catalan map (1375 A.D.) it is called *Jayech*. In the Mohammedan historians of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries the river *Iaik* is frequently mentioned. Rashid notices it in his account of the Kipchak. This is also "the great river *Yak*, which has its spring in the land of Siberia, near the river Cama, and runs through the land of *Nagay*, falling into the Mare Caspium," in Jenkinson's narrative of a journey to Bokhara in 1558.

The other river is the *Volga*. By the name of *Idil* or *Atel*, meaning "river" in Turkish, the Turks, and after

them all Mohammedan geographers, have designated the Volga, which latter name, used by the Slavic nations, seems to be derived from the ancient city of *Bolghar*, situated on the Volga. In the tenth century Istakhri states (p. 2) that the Khazars live on the river *Atel*, which runs through their country. Ibn Khurdadbeh (also in the tenth century) speaks also of a city *Atel*. This is believed to answer to the present Astrakhan. In the Byzantine writers the name appears much earlier; the river *Attilia* in Zemarchus' itinerary (*v. supra*). Plano Carpini, 775: "*Ethil* quam Rusci vocant *Volga*." Ibidem, 743: "Flumen *Volga* super quod vadit Bati est valde magnum." Rubruck calls the Volga always *Ethilia*. On the Catalan map the name reads *Edil*.

It remains to identify the three cities mentioned in the Yüan ch'ao pi shi in connection with Subutai's expedition.

Mieghie (this name is also spelt, erroneously, it seems, *Meketmeng*) is probably identical with the city of *Mie-k'ie-sz'* or *Mai-k'o-sz'*, noticed in the Yüan shi among the cities north of the Caucasus, captured by the prince (subsequently emperor) Mangu (see farther on, p. 316).

Kiwa (the name is also written *Keibie*) is evidently intended for *Kiev*, the ancient capital of Russia, which was taken by the Mongols in 1240. The Yüan ch'ao pi shi writes *Kiwa Mienkerman*. The second name is intended for *Man kerman*, which in Turkish means "great city."

The latter name appears in the relation of Timur's expedition to Russia in 1395, as given in the Zafernameh, iii. 55. It is there stated that the Kipchak prince Bikyarok Aglen then had his residence at *Man kirmen*, a city on the *Uzi* river. The Uzi seems to be the same as the *Azzu* river of Abulfeda, ii. 80, *i.e.*, the Dnieper of our days. The Russian annals do not mention a city of the above name on the Dnieper. But we learn from the late Professor Ph. Bruhn in Odessa, who in 1874 published an interesting article on the ancient names of Kiev

("Memoirs of the Third Archeol. Congress at Kiev," i. p. 294), that this ancient Russian capital indeed was known in the Middle Ages by the name of Mankerman. Rashid-eddin, in relating Batu's expedition to Southern Russia in 1240, reports that he captured, after a siege of nine days, the great Russian city of *Mingercan* (or *Mankerfaan*, as Berezin reads). Here evidently Kiev is meant, and the correct reading would be Mankerman. Bruhn quotes also the Venetian envoy Contarini, who about 1475 passed through Russia on his journey to and from Persia, and who states that *Chio* (Kiev) is also called *Magroman*.

According to the Tarikh Djihan Kushai and the Djamiut Tevarikh (d'Ohsson, ii. 699, *seqq.*), it was resolved at the second *Kuriltai* convoked in the reign of Ogotai Khan that a vast army should be raised in order to subdue the countries of the Asi, Bulgars, Kipchaks, and Russians, all bordering upon the territories of Batu,[741] the son of Chinghiz's eldest son Djuchi. Ogotai designated the following princes to assist Batu in these expeditions: *Kuyuk* and *Kadan*,[742] sons of Ogotai; *Mangu* and *Budjek*,[743]

[741] The Mohammedan authors call him *Batu*. In the Yüan ch'ao pi shi his name is likewise written *Batu*; in the Yüan shi, *Ba-du*. To the Russian chroniclers the Mongol conqueror of Russia was known under the name of *Baty*. Pl. Carpini writes *Bati*; Rubruck, *Batu* or *Baatu*.

[742] D'Ohsson states, ii. 99, after Rashid, that Ogotai by his chief wife, Turakina, had five sons, *Kuyuk*, *Kutan*, *Kuchu*, *Karadjar*, and *Kashi*; his two other sons, *Kadan Ogul* and *Melik*, were by concubines. *Kuyuk*, as is known, was afterwards elected Mongol emperor (1246–48). In the Yüan shi, chap. cvii., genealogical tables, *Gui-yu* and *Ho-dan* appear as the names of the sons of Ogotai. Pl. Carpini, 665: "*Occoday Can* hos filios habuit: *Cuyuc*, qui nunc est imperator, *Cocten* (probably the Kutan of Rashid) et *Chirenen*." At p. 668 he mentions the Prince *Karachay* (probably Karadjar). Rubruck (296, 297) calls Kuyuk *Ken Khan* (the name is evidently misspelt in the manuscripts), and states that he had a brother *Seremon*, who ventured to contest the election of Mangu Khan. But according to the Mohammedan authors, *Shiramun*, who opposed Mangu, was a son of Kuyuk's brother Kuchu (d'Ohsson, ii. 187, 247). Pl. Carpini, 668, calls him *Seremun*.

[743] These names read *Meng-k'o* and *Bu-ch'o* in the Yüan shi, *l. c.* Comp.

sons of Tulei; *Buri*[744] and *Baidar*, sons of Chagatai; *Kulkan*,[745] brother of Ogotai; and *Orda*, *Tangut*, and *Shiban*,[746] brothers of Batu. The valiant *Subutai bahadur* (see note 689) took part also in this expedition, which was set in motion in February 1236.

A.—Beginning of the Campaign—Invasion of the Country of Bulgar, A.D. 1236–37.

The Mohammedan authors report (d'Ohsson, ii. 619 *seqq.*) that, having marched during the whole summer, the Mongol army arrived in autumn at the ordo of the sons of Djuchi, in the neighbourhood of the kingdom of *Bulgar*, on the river (name illegible in the MS., probably the Volga). In the winter of 1236–37, the Mongol princes detached Subutai to invade the countries of the Asi and Bulgar. This general proceeded to the city of Bulgar, captured it, and its inhabitants were massacred or dragged away into slavery. Rashid mentions two chiefs,

also note 281. Mangu was subsequently Mongol emperor (1251–59). Pl. Carpini (666, 667): "Alterius autem filius Chingis Can, cujus nomen ignoramus (it was Tulei), filios habuit *Mengu*, cujus mater est *Seroctan*; . . . Alius vocatur *Bichac*." Farther on Pl. Carpini writes the same name, it seems, *Buigec*, and states that this prince was in Hungary.

[744] *Buri* is noticed in the Yüan ch'ao pi shi (see farther on, p. 333). Pl. Carpini, 666: "Filii *Chyaaday* sunt *Burin* et *Cadan*. Nomina aliorum nescimus." Farther on, 667, he states that both of them were in Hungary. As we have seen, *Kadan*, according to Rashid, was the son of Ogotai. Rubruck, 279, 280, speaks also of *Buri*.

[745] *Kulkan* or *Gulgan*, according to Rashid, was Chinghiz' son by *Gukálju*, daughter of the Kin emperor. He was killed in Russia (d'Ohsson, i. 418, ii. 625). In the Yüan shi, *l. c.*, his name reads *K'uo-li-kien*.

[746] Sons of Djuchi, Chinghiz' eldest son. In the Yüan shi, annals, *s. a.* 1236, *Wa-lu-do* (Orda) is mentioned together with his brother *Ba-du*. Shiban's name (*Siban*) occurs in Su-bu-t'ai's biography (see farther on). Pl. Carpini (665, 666): "Filii *Tossuc Can* (this he terms Djuchi) sunt *Bati*, iste est ditior et potentior post imperatorem; *Ordu*, iste est senior omnium ducum; *Syban*, *Bora*, *Berca*, *Thaut*." Farther on, 668, in enumerating the Mongol princes, he mentions *Sinocur* and *Thua temur*, who seem to be the same as *Shinkur* and *Tuka timur* of Rashid, also sons of Djuchi. See Howorth's "Mongols," ii. 102. Djuchi's descendants.

Bayan (?) and *Chiku* (?), who came in person to render homage to the princes, and were then released; but they subsequently revolted, and Subutai was sent again to subdue them.

The Russian annals state (Karamzin, iii. 270) that Baty wintered near the Volga in 1236–37, not far from the capital of the Bulgars, which was destroyed in the autumn of 1237.

The Yüan shi does not record the invasion of Bulgar. In the biography of Subutai, where all the military doings of this famous general are related, no mention is made of Bulgar. But on the ancient Mongol-Chinese map of the fourteenth century (see Part III.), *Bu-li-a-rh* is marked east of Russia.

B.—Expedition against the Kipchaks, Bokshas, and Burtasses, A.D. 1237.

Rashid reports (d'Ohsson, ii. 623): The Mongol princes, after deliberation, determined to extend their army and to proceed in a vast line, as is generally done at a *battue*. Mangu, who commanded the left flank near the (Caspian) Sea, captured *Bachman*, one of the most valiant chiefs of the Kipchaks, who belonged to the tribe of *Olerlik* (?), and *Kachar Ogola*, who belonged to the people of . . . (probably *Ase*). Bachman, who had for a long time evaded his pursuers, had collected a troop of robbers and fugitives, and was a constant source of trouble to the Mongols, sometimes carrying off considerable booty from them. As he frequently changed his abode, and hid himself in the forests bordering on the river Atil (Volga), it was difficult to catch him. Mangu gave orders to prepare a squadron of two hundred boats, and to put a hundred men in each boat. The prince himself with one part of the squadron went along one bank of the river, beating the adjacent forests; whilst his brother Budjek, with the rest of the boats, ransacked the opposite

bank. At one place the Mongols found vestiges of a recently abandoned encampment, and an old woman informed them that Bachman had retired to an island. As they had no boats near that place, they were unable to pursue Bachman, when suddenly a high wind arose, causing the water to go down. The Mongol troops forded the river, and Bachman was taken *à l'improviste ;* his men being either drowned or killed. The Mongols returned with a large booty, without having lost a single man. Bachman solicited the favour to be killed by Mangu's own hand; but this prince ordered his brother Badjek to cut the Kipchak chief through the middle. Kachar Ogola, one of the chiefs of the Ases, was also killed. The Mongol princes passed the summer of 1237 in that country. In the same year *Batu, Orda, Barkai,*[747] *Kadan, Buri, Kulkun* attacked the *Bokshas,*[748] and the *Burtasses.*[749]

The Yüan shi also reports the capture of Bachman. In chap. iii., biography of Mangu Khan, we read:—

In the third month of 1237 *Meng-k'o* invaded *Kin-ch'a*

[747] *Barkai*, according to Rashid, was a brother of Batu. This is Pl. Carpini's *Berca* (see note 746). In the Yüan shi he is termed *Bie-rh-k'o.*

[748] By Bokshas probably the *Mokshas* are meant. This is still the name of one of the tribes of the *Mordvins*, a people belonging to the Finnish race, who still have their abodes west of the middle course of the Volga, principally in the governments of Penza (where is a river *Moksha* and a city *Mokshansk*), Simbirsk, Saratov, Samara. Constantine Porph. (tenth century) speaks of Μορδια, a country distant ten days' journey from the Pechenegs. The name of the *Mordva* appears in Nestor's list of nations in the eleventh century. Pl. Carpini, 747: "Comania habet ab aquilone immediate post Rusciam: *Morduinos*, Bileros," *i.e.*, Magnam Bulgariam, &c. At p. 709 he writes the same name *Mordui.* Rubruck (251, 252) notices the people *Merdas*, called *Merdini* by the Latins, beyond the river Tanais (Don), and near the great river Ethilia (Volga); and in their vicinity another people which he terms *Moxel.* These latter seem to be the Mokshas, and also the same as the *Moxia* of Josafa Barbaro (1436). Comp. Fraehn's interesting treatise on Ibn Foszlan's notices of the Russians, 1823.

[749] Evidently the *Bartas* or *Bertas* of Mas'udi (ii. 14) and Istakhri (105), who in the tenth century dwelt on the river Atel, in the neighbourhood of the Khazars. See also Abulfeda, ii. 303. According to Dorn ("Caspia," vi.),

(Kipchak), and approached the sea called *K'uan-t'ien-ghi-sz'*.[750] The chief of the Kin-ch'a, named *Ba-ch'i-man*, fled with his family to an island in the sea. Meng-k'o, when informed of this fact, proceeded immediately with his troops to capture him. Happily a strong wind arose which caused the water to fall, so that it could be forded; and Meng-k'o said, "Heaven opens up my way." Ba-ch'i-man's troops were massacred, and he was made prisoner. Meng-k'o ordered him to kneel down; but he replied, "I have been myself a king and do not fear death. I am not a camel that I should kneel." After this he put the Mongols in mind of the rising of the flood, and advised them to think of returning; and indeed part of the troops were obliged to reach the opposite shore by swimming.

In the biography of Su-bu-t'ai (see note 689) the same story is reported, but there the merit of the capture of Ba-ch'i-man is attributed to this general.

C.—Invasion of Northern Russia, A.D. 1237–38.

I may begin with the accounts found in the Russian annals, which, of course, give the fullest information regarding these events. Compare Karamzin, iii. 272 *seqq.*

After the city of Bulgar had been destroyed, the Tatars appeared towards the end of 1237 on the frontiers of Russia, then bounded on the east by Bulgaria. The cities of *Pronsk*, *Bielgorod*, and *Ijeslavets* were captured, whereupon they arrived at *Riazan*, where the Prince *Yury* (George) had shut himself up. This prince was not able to resist the Mongol arms. Riazan was taken by assault on December 21, 1237, when there was a

the Burtasses are the *Chuvashes* of our days, a people belonging to the Finnish race. Their seats are in the governments of Kazan, Nijni-Novgorod, Simbirsk, Orenburg.

[750] See p. 297.

general massacre of the inhabitants, in which the Prince Yury with his family perished. The city of *Kolomna*, defended by Yury's brother *Roman*, shared the same fate as Riazan. *Vladimir*, the son of the Grand-Duke *Yury* of *Vladimir*, had been entrusted with the defence of *Moscow;* but he was also defeated by the Mongols and made prisoner. The Grand-Duke Yury now becoming alarmed, left Vladimir, and posted his army on the banks of the *Siti* (an affluent of the *Mologa*). He determined to wait there for auxiliary troops promised by his brothers *Yaroslav* of *Kiev* and *Sviatoslav;* his sons *Vsevolod* and *Mstislav* having been left meantime to defend the capital, Vladimir. On the 2d February 1238 the Mongols invested Vladimir and summoned the city to surrender. One Mongol detachment had been sent to *Suzdal*, and having sacked this place, joined the main army at Vladimir. On the 8th of February the city surrendered, and, according to the Mongol custom, the inhabitants were put to the sword, the whole family of the Grand-Duke having perished on the occasion. After this the Mongol troops were divided into several corps, which moved about in different directions, sacking the cities and ravaging the country. Thus in February 1238 the cities of *Voljsky*, *Gorodets*, *Kostromskoi Galich*, *Pereslavl*, *Rostov*, *Yaroslav*, *Yuriev* and *Dmitrov* were plundered or destroyed. The Grand-Duke Yury, still on the river *Siti*, awaiting succour from his brothers, was attacked on the 4th of March, and killed with most of his troops. Another Mongol corps had turned towards *Novgorod*, and after taking *Volok Lamsky* and *Twer*, they invested *Torjok*, which city surrendered on the 5th of March, after a siege of two weeks. When *Baty* had arrived at a distance of a hundred versts from the rich city of Novgorod, he suddenly marched back (the reason of his return is unknown), and directed his host against *Kozelsk* (in the government of Kaluga). This insignificant city was able to resist the Mongols for seven weeks, owing to the

heroism of its inhabitants. Finally, they were obliged to surrender, and suffered the common fate of those who opposed the Mongols. The Russian chroniclers report that Baty, having massacred all the inhabitants of the city, named it "the bad city." After this the Mongols returned to the country of the *Polovtsy* (Kipchaks); and Yaroslav, prince of Kiev, the brother of Yury, who had been killed in the battle on the Siti, went to Vladimir, and was proclaimed Grand-Duke.

The invasion of Russia by the Mongols related above is spoken of in the following terms in the Tarikh Djihan Kushai (d'Ohsson, ii. 619):—

When the city of Bulgar had been taken, the Mongol armies invaded *Russia*, and conquered that country as far as the city of *Mocoss*, the inhabitants of which were numerous as ants and locusts. The Mongols were obliged to pass through vast forests, so dense that not even a serpent could penetrate them. The Mongol princes therefore ordered roads to be cut across, wide enough for three carts to pass abreast. Catapults were set up to demolish the wall of Mocoss; and after a siege of several days, the place surrendered, when immense booty was taken. Orders were given to cut off the right ears of all the corpses; and thus it was found that the number slain amounted to 270,000.[751]

Rashid gives a more detailed account of this expedition (d'Ohsson, ii. 621); but it is to be regretted that the names of the greater number of the places mentioned in Russia cannot be ascertained owing to the want of diacritical marks in the Persian text. He reports: In the autumn of 1237, the Mongol princes marched all together against the Russians. Kuyuk, Mangu, Kul-

[751] D'Ohsson identifies Mocoss with *Moscow*. He may be right. I would, however, observe that Moscow at the time spoken of was not a large and populous city. It had been founded in 1147 by the Grand-Duke Yury Dolgoruky, but was destroyed in 1176 by a prince of Riazan.

kan, Kadan, and Buri besieged the city of *Ban*, and took it after three days. (Berezin reads *Yan*, and thinks that Riazan is intended.) They then stormed the city of *Iga*, where Kulkan was mortally wounded. (Berezin reads *Ike*, and thinks that Kolomna on the river Oka is meant.) They defeated and killed *Urman*, one of the chiefs of the Russians (the prince Roman of Kolomna). The city of *Muskav* (Berezin) was captured after a siege of five days, and the Emir *Ulai Timur* killed (Vladimir, who defended Moscow; but he was only taken prisoner, not killed). It took eight days to capture the city of *Yurki busurgh* (the Great Yurki), (probably Vladimir, the residence of the Grand-Duke Yury). The city of *Kir Nikla*, the capital of the country of *Venceslav*, was taken after only five days' siege. (Berezin reads *Karinkal*, the city of *Yaroslav*, and thinks that Karinkal is misspelt for *Torjok*.) The sovereign of this country, the Great Yurki, who had hidden himself in the forests, was made prisoner and executed. The Mongol princes now held a Kuriltai, where it was determined to proceed to the interior of Russia by different routes; and the Mongols took all the cities and fortresses they met with on their way. Batu besieged the city of *Kil Acaska* for two months without success;[752] but when he had been joined by the princes Kadan and Buri, the city was taken by assault in three days. After this the princes cantoned their troops and took rest for some time.

The information found in the Yüan shi with respect to the second invasion of Russia is very meagre. In the biography of Meng-k'o (Mangu), in chap. iii., it is stated that when Ba-ch'i-man, chief of the Kin-ch'a, had been killed (see above), Meng-k'o accompanied Ba-du in the expedition against the *Wa-lo-sz'* (Russians). At the

[752] It seems *Kozelsk* is meant; which place, according to the Russian annals, resisted for seven weeks.

siege of the city of *Ye-lie-dsan*,[753] he fought in person, and it was due to his bravery that the city was taken.

D.—Expedition to the Regions of the Caucasus, A.D. 1238–39.

Rashid reports that in the autumn of 1238 . . . and Kadan marched against the *Circasses*, and in winter killed their prince, *Tukan* (?). Shiban, Budjek, and Buri made an incursion upon the country of the *Merims*, a portion of the nation called *Chinchak*. Barkai defeated the Kipchaks and made the chief of the *Mekrits* prisoner.

In the winter of 1238–39, . . . (probably Mangu's name is to be supplied) with Buri and Kadan invested the city of *Mangass* (may also be read *Mikess*), which was taken after six weeks' siege. In the spring of 1239, Kukdai was sent to capture *Timur kahalia*,[754] and to take possession of the adjacent countries.

A corroboration of the account of the siege of Mangass or *Mikess* seems to be given in the Yüan shi. In the annals there, *s. a.* 1239, we read: *Meng-k'o* (Mangu) invested the city *A-su Mie-k'ie-sz'*, and captured it after three months' siege. It seems to me that we have to understand Mie-k'ie-sz', a city of the A-su (Asi or Alans). The same, or nearly the same, name occurs several times in the Yüan shi. Thus, in chap. cxxii., in the biography of *Si-li-gan-bu*,[755] it is stated that in 1239, in the eleventh month, the Mongol army reached the city of *Asu Mie-k'ie-sz'*. It was well fortified and difficult to storm. In the spring of 1240, however, *Si-li-gan-bu* conducted an assault, which was successful, and the city was taken.

[753] Probably *Riazan* is meant. I suppose that by a mistake the character *ye* has been connected with the name, for *Lie-dsan* would be just the proper Chinese spelling of the above name, or perhaps *Ye-lie-dsan* is the Mongol transcription of Riazan. The Mongols like to prefix a vowel to foreign proper names. Thus they call the Russians *Orus*.

[754] Literally "Iron gate." *Derbend*, on the Caspian Sea, is meant.

[755] A Mongol general of Tangut extraction, who took part in the western expeditions under Batu.

In chap. cxxxii., biography of *Ba-du-rh*, the storming of a city called *Mai-k'o-sz'* by Meng-k'o is related. The name of a city called *Mai-k'ie-sz'* appears also in the biography of the Kipchak prince *T'u-t u-ha, l. c.*, chap. cxxviii. We have seen that the Yüan ch'ao pi shi notices a city called *Miegie*, taken by the Mongol princes (p. 300). As to the position of this place, I can give no information. I may, however, observe, that Ibn Sayd, quoted by Abulfeda (ii. 287), states that the principal castle of the Alans was one of the strongest places in the world. He does not give the name of it. Mas'udi (ii. 43) speaks also of this castle of the Alans, situated between the kingdom of the Alans and the *Kabk* (Caucasus), on a considerable river. It is not improbable that this castle of the Alans was in the famous *Dariel* defile, on the Upper Terek, near Mount Kazbek; the *Babi-Allan* (gate of the Alans) of the Mohammedan geographers, the *Porta Caucasia* of the ancients.

E.—The Ravaging of Southern Russia by the Mongols, A.D. 1240.

I may again begin with the accounts drawn from the Russian annals, Karamzin, iv. 6 *seqq.*

The Grand-Duke Yury of Vladimir and his sons had all perished by the sword of the Mongols; and after the latter had retired, Yaroslav of Kiev, the brother of Yuri, took possession of the throne of Vladimir, ceding Kiev to Michael of Chernigov. Baty, having reduced the Polovtsy (Kipchaks), again invaded Russia, ravaged the country of the *Mordvins*, plundered *Murom* and *Gorokhovets*, and threatened the Grand-Dukedom of Vladimir; but suddenly he turned his host southward to the rich countries of Southern Russia. He destroyed *Pereslavl*. One corps of the Mongols was directed against *Chernigow*, which city, defended by the valiant prince Mstislav Glebovich, the cousin of Michael of Kiev, was taken by

assault and destroyed. Mstislav, however, succeeded in making his escape to Hungary.

After this the Mongols proceeded to *Kiev*, which Mangu had previously reconnoitred. He had advanced as far as the city of *Piessochny* on the Dnieper, and had been much delighted on getting sight of the magnificent city of Kiev, where his envoys had been previously killed. When the Mongols approached, Michael fled to Hungary, and the boyar, Dmitry, took upon himself the defence of the city; while Baty, arriving with his immense host, invested it on all sides. I may here give the translation of a passage of the contemporary Russian annals of Woskressensk referring to the siege of Kiev (Karamzin, iv. 285).

"Like dense clouds the Tatars[756] pushed themselves forward towards Kiev, investing the city on all sides. The rattling of their innumerable carts, the bellowing of camels and cattle, the neighing of horses, and the wild battle-cry, were so overwhelming as to render inaudible the conversation of the people inside the city. A Tatar named *Tavrul*, who had been captured, reported that Baty himself was before Kiev; that his brothers (relations) were all valiant captains: *Urdiu* (Orda), *Baidar* (son of Chagatai), *Biriu* (Buri), *Kadan*, *Bechak* (Budjek), *Mengu*, and *Kiuyuk* (Kuyuk).[757] When the news of the khan's (Ogotai's) death reached Kuyuk, he returned, and became himself khan.[758] There was also *Sebediai bogatyr*,

[756] The Mongols are invariably termed *Tatars* in the Russian annals. The Hungarian and other Western chronicles of the thirteenth century call them *Tartars*. Plano Carpini, Rubruck, M. Polo, also write *Tartar*. But the original Mongol name of the tribe, from which this appellation is derived, was *Tatar*. Thus the Mohammedan and the Chinese authors spell the name. The name *Mongol* was little known in the Middle Ages in Europe, but Plano Carpini and Rubruck use also the names *Mongal*, *Moal*.

[757] Compare notes 741–746.

[758] The latter statement must have been added a few years later. The siege of Kiev took place in 1240, but Ogotai died only in December of 1241, and Kuyuk was elected khan in 1246. There are some discrepancies between the statements of Western and Eastern authors as to the date

who did not belong to the khan's relatives, but who was considered his first general; and another, by name *Burundai*. These two had conquered the whole country of Bulgar and Suzdal." [759]

Notwithstanding the stout resistance of the Russians, Kiev was finally taken by assault and destroyed. The brave Dmitry was made prisoner. Batu spared his life, but took him along with him. Dmitry is said to have subsequently persuaded Batu to leave Russia and invade the rich country of Hungary. But before proceeding thither, Batu sacked and plundered the cities of *Vladimir* in Volhynia, *Galich*, *Ladyjin* (in Podolia), and *Kamenets*. At *Kremnets*, however, the Mongols suffered a defeat.

The account given by Rashid of the invasion of Southern Russia in 1240 is very confused, and some of the proper names cannot be pronounced. The Persian historian states (d'Ohsson, ii. 627):—

When the princes Kuyuk and Mangu had left the army in the autumn of 1239, the Prince Batu, with his

when Kuyuk was recalled by his father, and also with respect to the time when Ogotai died. Rashid states (d'Ohsson, ii. 118): The princes, Kuyuk and Mangu, having received orders from the Emperor Ogotai to return, left the army in the autumn of 1239. When they arrived in Tartary, Ogotai had already departed this life. But this does not agree with the Yüan ch'ao pi shi, which reports, with many details, Kuyuk's reception by his father when he had arrived from the west (see farther on, H.). According to the annals of the Yüan shi, Kuyuk in 1240 was still with the army in the west. We read there, under this year: "The Prince *Gu-yu* had conquered the countries in the west; but there were still some nations who resisted, and he despatched a courier with a report." D'Ohsson, ii. 155, quotes a passage from Roger's "Miserabile Carmen," in which it is stated that the Tatars suddenly left Hungary owing to the arrival of a courier bringing the news of the great khan's death. The precise date of the arrival of the courier is not given, but it may be concluded that it happened in the winter of 1241–42. This agrees with the Chinese annals.

[759] Sebediai bogatyr is *Subutai bahadur*, repeatedly spoken of in these pages. I cannot understand why Karamzin (iii. 11) will have the name Sebediai to be read *Sudai*, and changes Burundai into *Bastyr*. Burundai of the Russian chroniclers is doubtless the general *Buruldai* of Rashid's record, who distinguished himself in Poland and Hungary. (See farther on p. 322).

brothers and the princes Kadan, Buri, Buchek, marched against the *Russians* and the *Karakalpaks* (Black Caps). In nine days they took the great Russian city of *Mingerkan* (Kiev, *vide* p. 307, 308), and after this all the cities of *Uladimir* (Vladimir). After ravaging the land to a great extent and sacking all the cities on their way, they invested the city of *Uch-ogul Uladimir* (in Turkish "the three sons of Vladimir") with their united forces and captured it in three days. (Berezin reads *Ucheslav*, son of *Uladimir*, and thinks that Iziaslav Vladimirovich, prince of Kamenets, is meant.)

As to the Chinese accounts of these events, they are also vague and unintelligible. In the repeatedly quoted biography of Su-bu-t'ai it is stated that in the year 1241 [760] the emperor Ogotai ordered Batu and the other princes to attack *Ye-li-ban*, king of the *Wu-lu-sz'* (Russians). They then proceeded to invest the city of *T'u-li-sze-k'o*, which for a long time could not be taken; [761] but when *Ye-li-ban* had been made prisoner, the city was taken by assault. After this the Russians all surrendered, and the army returned.

F.—Expedition of the Mongols to Poland, Silesia, and Moravia, A.D. 1240–41.

The following general sketch of this expedition is drawn from d'Ohsson (ii. 120 *seqq.*), who quotes Polish and other European annals:—

After the death of Boleslaus III. in 1139, Poland was divided among his four sons; and when the Mongols proceeded from Russia westward, they found there four

[760] The date 1241 is a mistake for 1240; for the events reported in the biography under the year 1241 are placed there before the expedition to Hungary, which, as is well ascertained, took place in 1241.

[761] I can give no explanation about the king Ye-li-ban. The city of T'u-li-sze-k'o is perhaps *Kozelsk*.

realms. Boleslaus IV., pudicus, reigned over Krakow and Sandomir. Conrad ruled Mazovia and Kuyavia, his residence being in Plotsk. Henry II. possessed Lower Silesia and the provinces of Gnesen, Posnania, and Kalish, himself residing in Vratislav or Breslau. The dukedoms of Oppeln and Ratibor belonged to Miecislav.

The Tartars first appeared in Poland in the year 1240, plundered the province of *Lublin*, and then retired to *Galicia*. The next winter, 1240–41, they crossed the *Vistula* on the ice, ravaged *Sandomir*, advanced to within seven miles of *Krakow*, and returned again to Galicia. Vladimir, palatine of Krakow, went in pursuit, and succeeded in rescuing the prisoners and recovering a part of the booty that had been taken. But after a short time the Mongols reappeared, devastating *Sandomir*, *Lencisc*, and *Kuyavia*. The Polish army endeavoured to oppose them, but was defeated near *Szydlow*, on March 18, 1241. Boleslav and all the nobles fled to Moravia, Hungary, and Germany; and when the Mongols arrived at Krakow, they found it deserted.

After this the Mongols entered *Silesia;* and as the bridges over the Oder had been burnt, they crossed the river at *Ratibor*, swimming or on extemporised bridges. Miecislav retired to *Liegnitz*, where his cousin Henry rallied an army. The Mongols marched first upon *Breslau*, the city having been burnt by the inhabitants, who had shut themselves up in the citadel. The Mongol army did not stay there, but proceeded to *Liegnitz*, where Henry of Silesia had succeeded in raising a host of 30,000 men, Poles and Germans. Among the latter were the knights of the Teutonic order, commanded by Poppo von Osternau. The commander-in-chief of the Mongols is called *Peta*[762] by the Polish chroniclers. The Mongols were superior in numbers to their adversaries. On a great plain near Liegnitz, subsequently called *Wahlstatt*, on the 9th of April 1241, that memorable battle

[762] D'Ohsson thinks that *Baidar*, the son of Chagatai, is meant.

was fought, which terminated in the complete defeat of the Poles and Germans, and in which Henry was killed. The Mongols remained for some time in the country, and then invaded *Moravia*, which belonged to the states of Venceslav of Bohemia. The latter sent 5000 men under the command of Yaroslav von Sternberg to defend *Olmütz*. This valiant captain not only succeeded in holding out in the fortress, but caused great damage to the Mongols by a sally he made. Finally, the latter withdrew to join the main body of the army, which had been directed to Hungary.

Rashid's account of this expedition is very incomplete and confused (d'Ohsson, ii. 621). He states that *Batu*, *Shiban*, and *Buruldai* marched upon the *Polo* (Poles) and *Bashguirds* (Hungarians; see farther on, p. 326). The Polo were a very powerful nation, who professed the Christian faith, and whose territories bordered on the country of the *Franks*. After this Rashid describes the expedition to Hungary, confounding the Poles with the Hungarians.

An allusion to the Mongol invasion of Poland and Silesia is found also in the Yüan shi, chap. cxxi., biography of *Wu-liang-ho t'ai* (the son of Su-bu-t'ai; see note 303). It is stated there that Wu-liang-ho tai accompanied Badu when he invaded the countries of *Kin-ch'a* (Kipchap) and *Wu-la-sz'* (Russia). Subsequently he took part also in the expedition against the *P'o-lie-rh* and *Nie-mi-sz'*.[763]

[763] I have no doubt that by these two names the *Poles* and the *Germans* are intended. In the Russian annals the Germans are always termed *Niemtsy* (singular = *Niemets*). This name occurs first in the annals compiled in the beginning of the twelfth century, the authorship of which is attributed to *Nestor*, the father of Russian history, who lived in the second half of the eleventh century and died in 1116 (see Schloezer's "Russian Annals of Nestor"). Nestor gives the names of the nations living in the eleventh century in Russia and around it. His information is partly drawn from Byzantine sources. But the word *Nemçi* to designate the Germans

G.—The Invasion of Hungary, A.D. 1241–42.

Comp. d'Ohsson, ii. 132 *seqq.*, for information drawn from the Hungarian annals.

At the time the Mongols ravaged Eastern Europe, *Bela IV.* reigned in Hungary. His states were bounded on the north by the Carpathian Mountains, and stretched southward to the Gulf of the Adriatic. In 1239 he sheltered in his dominions *Kutan*, khan of the *Kumans*,[764] with 40,000 families who had fled from the Mongols. The princes of Russia, Poland, &c., who had escaped the Mongol sword, had also emigrated to Hungary. Kutan had embraced the Christian religion; but his people, unable to resist their natural tendencies, having plundered the country they were traversing, and thus irritated the Hungarians, Kutan, being suspected of collusion with the Tartars, was massacred by the mob in 1241. The Kumans, thus brought into the position of declared enemies of the Hungarians, withdrew to Bulgaria on the Danube, ravaging the country on their way.

was in use among the Bohemians in a much earlier period, for it appears in the so-called MS. of Grüneberg of the ninth or tenth century. Schafarek, in his "Slavische Alterthümer," states that the Slavonic nations have always applied this name to the Germans. As to its origin, the Russian linguists generally derive it from *nemoi*, "dumb," *i.e.*, unable to speak Slavonic. To the ancient Byzantine chroniclers the Germans were known under the same name. Comp. Muralt's "Essai de Chronogr. Byzant.," *sub anno* 882: "Les Slavons maltraités par les guerriers *Nemetzi* de Swiatopolc" (king of Great Moravia, 870–894). Sophocles' Greek Lexicon of the Roman and Byzantine periods from B.C. 146 to A.D. 1100: "*Nemitzi*," Austrians, Germans. This name is met also in the Mohammedan authors. According to the Masalak-al-Absar, of the first half of the fourteenth century (transl. by Quatremère, N. et Ext. xiii. 284), the country of the Kipchaks extended (eastward) to the country of the *Nemedj*, which separates the Franks from the Russians. The Turks still call the Germans *Niemesi;* the Hungarians term them *Nemet.*

[764] The Kumans are the *Kipchaks* of the Mohammedan authors, and the *Polovtsy* of the Russian annals. In the latter Kotan is termed *Kotian Khan* of the Polovtsy.

Whilst one part of the Mongol army was devastating Poland, Silesia, and Moravia, the main army, conducted by *Batu* himself, marched upon Hungary in 1241. But previous to this he despatched an exiled Englishman who was in the Mongol service to summon Bela to surrender. Batu entered the dominions of Bela in March 1241 by the so-called *Russian gate*, a defile in the Carpathian Mountains. *Peta*, who proceeded with his troops from Moravia, reached Hungary some time later by the defile known as the *Hungarian gate*. The Prince *Kadan* and the general *Subutai* directed their corps at the same time through *Komania* (Moldavia) to Hungary. Bela sent his family to the Austrian frontier and remained himself in his capital. Batu made directly for Pesth, ravaging the country through which he passed. When he reached the capital, the Hungarians were not yet ready for battle. The Archbishop of Kolocha, however, ventured on a sally from Pesth, but was defeated by the Mongols and escaped with difficulty. When the Archbishop of Varadin had arrived with his troops, it was determined to attack the enemy again. According to their favourite stratagem, the Mongols retired the way they had come, and the Hungarians then marched out. Bela pitched his camp on the western border of the river *Sayo*,[765] near a place where the river was spanned by a bridge. As it was believed that this bridge was the only place where the Mongols could cross the river, which was bordered by large swamps, a thousand men were posted there for defence. But the Mongols, who at first had encamped at a distance of five miles, suddenly arrived in the night. One part of them waded through the river, while another forced the bridge by means of a battery of five catapults. At daybreak the Hungarians found themselves attacked from behind; they were defeated and for the greater part massacred. Bela, however, succeeded in escaping, and fled to the

[765] The *Sayo* is an affluent of the *Theiss*. It is distant about a hundred miles north-east from Pesth.

castle of *Thurocz*, near the Carpathian Mountains. A few days later the Mongols took *Pesth*.

Whilst these events were taking place in the heart of Hungary, Prince *Kadan* advanced through Transylvania. After marching three days through forests, he appeared suddenly at *Rudan*.[766] The city was captured, and the Count of Ariscalde and 600 German troops were made prisoners. After this Kadan marched upon *Varadin*, which was easily taken and destroyed. The Mongols had some difficulty, however, in storming the citadel. Farther on they reached *St. Thomas*, and then the great city of *Perg*, which surrendered after a week's siege. The Mongols forced the captive Russians, Hungarians, and Kumans to take part in the assault. A few days later *Kadan* took the monastery of *Egresh*. After this he probably joined Batu, but the annals are silent on the subject.

The whole summer and autumn of 1241 the Mongols encamped in the plain of Hungary, without undertaking any military operation. The following winter, when the Danube was frozen, they crossed the river and attacked and destroyed the city of *Gran;* but they could not force the citadel, which was defended by Count Simeon. The thaw which then happened obliged them to withdraw. But there was another reason for their retreat. While they were besieging the fort St. Martin, a courier arrived bringing news of the great khan's death, with orders for them to return to Mongolia.

Thus the Mongols left Hungary in 1242; only one corps, under the command of Kadan, being left behind to pursue the king, Bela. The latter had quitted Thurocz and repaired to his family in Austria. Thence he proceeded to *Zagrab* (Agram), where he passed the summer of 1242; but when informed of the approach of Kadan, he fled to Dalmatia, going first to *Spalatro* and then to *Trau*. Finally he hid himself on a small island situated near that place.

[766] A city of the Saxons settled in Transylvania. See note 771.

Kadan hastened through Sclavonia and Croatia, appeared at Spalatro, besieged the fort *Clissa*, and spent the whole month of March (it seems of 1243) on the seashore opposite the island to which Bela had retreated. After this the Mongols sacked the cities of Cattaro, Suagio, and Drivasto. Finally, Kadan went by the route of Serbia to join Batu's army.

The author of the Tarikh Djihan Kushai, as well as Rashid and other Mohammedan authors of the same period, term the HUNGARIANS *Bashkerds* (Bashkirs). This latter name, written also *Bashkurd*, appears for the first time, it seems, in Ibn Fozlan's narrative of an embassy to the Bulgars on the Volga in the beginning of the tenth century (translated by Fraehn, "De Bashkiris," &c., 1822). They seem to have dwelt at that time north of the Caspian Sea and east of the Volga, where the Bashkirs of our days still have their abodes. It was the generally adopted view in the Middle Ages among the Mohammedans as well as in Europe that the Hungarians in Europe sprang from these Bashkerds, a people of Turkish race. Ibn Sayd (thirteenth century) quoted by Abulfeda (ii. 293–295), after mentioning the Bashkerds, an infidel people, dwelling north of the Pechenegs (thus the Bashkirs in their original seats), speaks of the Bashkerds, a people of Turkish descent, living on the river *Duma* (the Danube is termed *Duna* in Hungarian), in the vicinity of the *Allemanye* (Germans), and followers of Islam. After this Ibn Sayd notices the *Hongross* (*Hungarians*), settled on the river *Duma*. He calls them brothers of the Bashkerds, and states that they have accepted the Christian faith from the Germans.

Pl. Carpini calls Hungary by the same name as it is now known to us. On p. 667 he enumerates the Tartar princes who took part in the expedition to Hungary: "Ordu fuit in Polonia et in Hungaria; Bati, Cadan, Syban, Burin et Buigec, isti omnes fuerunt in Hungaria."

(Comp. notes 744 to 746.) On pp. 677, 708, he speaks of the *Bascart* (Bashkirs) near great Bulgaria (on the Volga), stating that Bascart is the same as "magna Hungaria." Rubruck (274) states that the great river *Jagac* (Iaik, Ural) comes from the country of the *Pascatir* in the north. From this country of the Pascatir, he says, came the *Huns*, who subsequently became the *Hungarians*. The idiom of the Pascatir is the same as that of the Hungarians.[767] Ibidem, p. 231: "*Pascatir* que est *major Hungaria*."

There can be no doubt that the Hungarians were aborigines of Asia, and most probably they originally dwelt near the Ural Mountains, north-east of the Wolga Bulgars. These regions are called *Ugra* or *Yugra* in the Russian annals, and are inhabited by the Finnish nation of the Woguls. Klaproth ("Tabl. Hist. de l'Asie") quotes from the Russian annals a passage according to which the Russian Grand-Duke Ioan Vassilievich (1462–1505) in 1499 sent his army to the country of *Ugra* against the *Guguliches* (Voguls), who were defeated, &c. In consequence of this, Ioan took the title of Prince of Ugra. There is over one of the gates of the Kremlin in Moscow an ancient Latin inscription referring to that time, in which Joannes Vasilii is called Magnus Dux *Ongarie* (Ugra).

The Hungarians arrived in Europe in the ninth century, and then called themselves *Magyar* (to be pronounced Modjor), as they do down to the present time. The Russian chronicler Nestor mentions their passing near Kiev in 898, and terms them *Ugry*. But the name Magyar was also known to other nations in the Middle Ages. Abulfeda (ii. 324) notices the *Madjgars;*

[767] Now-a-days the language spoken by the Bashkirs is a Turkish dialect. Klaproth thinks that the Hungarian language stands nearer to the Finnish stock of languages. But from Vambery's investigations into the subject it appears that the language now spoken by the Hungarians is a mixed language, in which the Turkish element prevails.

it would, however, seem that he applies this name to the Bashkirs in Asia. The name *Madjar* occurs also in Rashid's record. In the Chinese and Mongol annals of the thirteenth century the Hungarians are termed *Madja-rh*.

I may finally observe, that there was also, in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, a city of *Madjar* situated on the river Kuma, north of the Caucasus. It was visited in the fourteenth century by Ibn Batuta, and by Wadding (Yule's "Cathay," 401, 233). M. Polo's "*Menjar*" (ii. 492) is probably the same. A city called *Modjary* [768] is spoken of also in the Russian annals (Karamzin, iv. 176, 404). The Russian Grand-Duke Michael, executed by order of Uzbeg Khan (of the Golden Horde) in 1319 near Derbend, was buried in Modjary. It is not improbable that Madjar was a city founded by the Magyars, who at one time dwelt north of the Caucasus, but subsequently were forced by the Pechenegs to emigrate westward. The ruins of ancient Madjar have been visited and described by Gmelin, Klaproth, and others.

The Tarikh Djihan Kushai describes the Mongol invasion of Hungary as follows (d'Ohsson, ii. 620):—

"When the Russians, the Alans, and the Kipchaks had been exterminated, Batu directed his armies against the *Bashghirds*, a considerable Christian nation who are said to border upon the country of the *Franks*. The expedition commenced in the beginning of 1241, when an army of 400,000 men marched to make head against the Mongols. Batu despatched his brother Shiban with 10,000 men to reconnoitre the forces of the enemy. After a week Shiban returned, reporting that the enemy had a superior force. When the two hosts faced each other, Batu ascended a hill, where he retired for a day and a

[768] *Modjary* is the Russian plural form of *Modjar*. The Russians frequently use the plural form for names of places.

night without speaking to anybody, imploring divine protection. He had also ordered all the Mussulmans in his army to pray to Heaven. Next day the troops prepared for the combat, the two armies being separated by a large river (apparently the *Sayo*). In the night Batu detached one part of his troops, commanded by Shiban, to cross the river and attack the enemy ; but the attempt was unsuccessful on account of the great numbers on defence. The main body of the Mongol army then rushed upon the Bashghirds, and penetrated to the camp of the *kelar*, cutting the ropes of his tent. When the Bashghirds saw the tent of their kelar falling down, they took to flight ; but only a small number of them escaped, the whole country giving way before the invaders. The victory is one of the most glorious exploits of the Mongols."

Rashid copies the Tarikh Djihan Kushai concerning the war in Hungary. Probably by a clerical error in Rashid's record, the name of the Bashghirds is replaced by that of the Polo (Poles). But farther on Rashid speaks of both nations, distinctly stating that though the countries of the *Polo* and *Bashghirds* are very large and have many fortresses, they have nevertheless been conquered by the Mongols. These nations, however, subsequently revolted, and in Rashid's time (about 1300) they were not completely subdued, having still their own kings, whom they called *kelar*.[769]

Rashid gives yet another description of the Mongol invasion of Hungary (d'Ohsson, ii. 627), with reference, it seems, to Kadan's march through Transylvania, and the pursuit of Bela to the Adriatic ; but the events are confusedly reported, thus :—

"In the spring of 1240 (rather 1241) the princes crossed the mountains . . . and entered the countries of the *Bular*[770] and the Bashghirds. Orda, who marched on

[769] The Hungarian *kiraly* (to be pronounced *kiral*, meaning "king").

[770] The author evidently does not mean Bulgaria east of the Volga (the Magna Bulgaria of Pl. Carpini, 708), but Bulgaria on the Danube, the

the right flank, traversed the country of *Ilaut*, and vanquished *Bezerenbam* (?), who had ventured to oppose the Mongol army. Kadan and Buri entered the country of the *Sassans*,[771] and defeated them in three battles. Budjec traversed the mountains of this country and entered the *Kara-Ulag*,[772] vanquished the people of the *Ulag* (Wallachia), crossed the mountains . . . and invaded the country of *Misheslav* (?), who was also defeated. The princes then marched by five different routes upon the countries of the *Bashghirds*, *Madjars*, and *Sassans*, and the *kelar* took to flight. The Mongol armies passed the summer on the rivers *Tissa* (Theiss) and *Tonha* (see note 781). Kadan moved out with his troops, conquered the country of *Makut* (?), and pursued the sovereign of these countries, the *kelar*, as far as the sea. The latter embarked at the seaport[773] . . . and fled seaward. Kadan then returned, and captured . . . and . . . who had determined to resist, in the city of *Ulakut*. These events took place before he had received the news of the khan's death."

Chinese accounts of the Mongol expedition to Hungary, and even some details regarding the battle on the river Sayo, are found in the Yüan shi, in the repeatedly quoted biography of Subutai. After narrating the war against the Russians (see above), the biographer continues :—

"The (Mongol) army crossed the mountains *Ha-tsʻa-*

inhabitants of which had formerly emigrated from their original seats, and had in the seventh century founded a Bulgarian empire on the Lower Danube.

[771] Probably the *Saxons* in Transylvania are meant. As is known, the Saxons from the Lower Rhine had settled there in A.D. 1143. Michov, "Cronica Polonorum," states : "Partem orientalem Hungariæ, quam Almani inhabitabant, *Cadan* introivit et eam destruxit."

[772] D'Ohsson understands that Transylvania and Wallachia were intended.

[773] Evidently the name of the city of *Trau* (see above) is to be supplied.

li,[774] attacked the *k'ie-lien*[775] or king of the *Ma-dja-rh*,[776] advancing in five corps by five different roads.[777] Su-bu-t'ai was with Ba-du and commanded the avant-guard. The other corps were conducted by *Hu-li-wu*,[778] *Si-ban*, and *Ha-dan*.[779] The *k'ie-lien* being reputed for his valour, Su-bu-t'ai had recourse to stratagem (*i.e.*, he turned the enemy's flank). When the army had arrived at the river *Huo-ning*,[780] the corps of Prince Ba-du crossed the river in its upper course, where it was shallower, and where there was also a bridge. Su-bu-t'ai, who had to cross it lower down, where the water was considerably deeper, constructed a bridge by fastening beams together. In the meanwhile Ba-du had been engaged by the enemy, and had lost thirty men, and one of his adjutants, by name *Ba-ha-t'u*, had also been killed. Ba-du began to get discouraged and proposed to retreat; but Su-bu-t'ai said, 'Prince, if you wish to retreat, I cannot hinder you; but as for myself, I am determined not to return before having reached the river *T'u-na*[781]

[774] The Carpathian Mountains are obviously meant. I cannot, however, explain the name *Ha-ts'a-li*. It may be that "mountains of Galicia" is intended. Rashid (*v. supra*) speaks of the same mountains mentioned in the Chinese record, but the name is illegible.

[775] Evidently the same as *kelar* of the Persian authors (see note 769) and *kelie* of the Yüan ch'ao pi shi, *i.e.*, *kiraly*, the Hungarian name for "king."

[776] The same name of *Ma-dja-rh*, denoting Magyar or the Hungarians, is found also in the biography of *K'u-o-li-ghi-sze* (Yüan shi, chap. cxxxiv.), whose great-grandfather, *Ba-sze-bu-hua*, is stated there to have taken part in the expeditions against the *Kin-ch'a* (Kipchaks), *Wa-lo-sz'* (Russians), and *Ma-dja-rh*.

[777] Rashid also states that the Mongols, when marching upon Hungary, entered the country by five different roads.

[778] I do not know for whom this is meant.

[779] *Si-ban* and *Ha-dan* are evidently identical with the princes *Shi-ban* and *Kadan* in Rashid's record and in Carpini's narrative. The latter states (667) that the princes Bati, Cadan, Syban, Burin, Buigec were all in Hungary.

[780] As will appear from the subsequent narrative, the river *Sayo* must be meant, although the name given to the river by the Chinese author has no resemblance to the Hungarian one.

[781] The Danube, in Hungarian *Duna*, in German *Donau*. See also Abulfeda, ii. 285. Ibn Sayd (thirteenth century) terms this river *Duna*, and observes that the Turks are accustomed to pronounce this name *Thona*

and the city of the *Ma-chʿa*.'[782] After this he advanced with renewed ardour, and Ba-du also rushed upon the enemy, who was defeated in the struggle, and the Mongol army reached the capital. Some time later, at a great meeting, Ba-tu ventured to reproach Su-bu-tʿai, saying, 'When we were fighting together on the river *Huo-ning*, I lost my *Ba-ha-tʿu* owing to your tarrying.' Su-bu-tʿai replied, 'Prince, you know well that the river at the place where you crossed it was shallow, and you had also a bridge ready made before you. You have forgotten that where I was obliged to pass the water was deep, and the construction of a bridge was necessary.' At another meeting, when Ba-du had drunk a great quantity of kumiss and wine made from grapes, the same matter was again discussed; but then Ba-du did Su-bu-tʿai justice, acknowledging that the successful issue of the war against the *kʿie-lin* was to be ascribed altogether to Su-bu-tʿai. After the death of Ogotai, a great meeting of all the princes was convoked in the year 1243. Ba-du refused to go, when Su-bu-tʿai persuaded him, saying, 'You are now the eldest among the princes; it is not wise to refuse.' Ba-du accordingly left next year to attend the meeting.[783] When Kuyuk was raised to the throne in 1246, Su-bu-tʿai had arrived at court, and afterwards returned to his native country on the river *Tʿu-la*,[784] where he died in 1246, sixty years old."

[782] *Pesth*, the capital of the Madjars.

[783] The Mohammedan authors also state (d'Ohsson, ii. 195) that Batu, after the death of Ogotai, refused to attend the great meeting; for he was on bad terms with Kuyuk, who was about to be placed on the throne. Afterwards Batu consented to go, but did not carry out his intention; nor did he ever again see his native soil. He died on the banks of the Volga in about 1256.

[784] The *Tola* river; see note 600.

H.—Conclusion.

When the Mongols had left Hungary in 1242, they proceeded eastward, and remained several months in the countries north of the Caucasus, where some battles were fought with the Kipchaks. Rashid states that after passing a summer and winter on the road, the princes arrived in their territories in 1243.

The Yüan ch'ao pi shi speaks of a quarrel which had broken out at the time of the western war between Batu and some of the other princes. It is there stated that Batu sent an envoy from *Kibcha* to Ogotai Khan with the following report:—

"By the favour of Heaven and an auspicious fate, O emperor, my uncle! the eleven nations have been subdued. When the army had returned, a banquet was arranged, at which all the (Mongol) princes were present. Being the eldest, I drank one or two cups of wine before the others. *Buri* and *Guyuk* were incensed, left the banquet and mounted their horses, at the same time reviling me. Buri said, 'Batu is not superior to me; why did he drink before I drank? He is an old woman with a beard. By a single kick I could knock him down and crush him.' Guyuk said, 'He is an old woman with bow and arrows. I shall order him to be thrashed with a stick.' Another proposed to fasten a wooden tail to my body. Such is the language that was used by the princes when, after the war with the different nations, we had assembled to deliberate on important matters, and we were obliged to break up without discussing the affairs. Such is what I have to report, O emperor, my uncle."

Ogotai, on hearing this report, got very angry, and at first refused to see Guyuk (who had in the meantime arrived from the west); but when those around him interceded, Ogotai severely rebuked his son, and gave him to understand that the subjugation of some tribes of the

Urussi (Russians), attributed to him, afforded no reason for boasting, the whole merit being due to Subutai. As to Buri's case, Ogotai ordered that Batu should apply to Chahadai (Chagatai, Buri's grandfather) for judgment.

The conflict between Buri and Batu is alluded to also by Rashid (d'Ohsson, ii. 269). The Persian historian states that Buri, who had taken part in the conspiracy against Mangu Khan, was delivered to Batu in 1252, who ordered him to be executed; and thus took vengeance on him for some injurious speeches once uttered against Batu in a state of drunkenness.

I may cite also what Rubruck reports with respect to this case. This traveller, who passed through Turkestan in 1254, says (279, 280): "Quesivi etiam de *Talas* civitate (see note 23), in qua erant Teutonici servi *Buri*, de quibus dixerat frater Andreas, de quibus etiam quesiveram multum in curia Sartach et Baatu. Nihil poteram intelligere, nisi quod Buri, dominus eorum, fuerat interfectus tali occasione: Ipse non erat in bonis pascuis, et quadam die, dum esset ebrius, loquebatur ita cum hominibus suis: 'Nonne ego sum de genere Chingis Chan sicut Baatu? (et ipse erat nepos Baatu vel frater). Quare non vadam super ripam Etilie sicut Baatu, ut pascam ibi?' Que verba fuerunt relata Baatu. Tunc ipse Baatu scripsit hominibus illius, ut adducerent ei dominum ipsorum vinctum, quod et fecerunt. Tunc Baatu quesivit ab eo si dixisset tale verbum, et ipse confessus est. Tamen excusavit se, quia ebrius erat, quia solent condonare ebriis. Et Baatu respondit: 'Quomodo audebas me nominare in ebrietate tua?' Et fecit ei amputare caput."

END OF VOL. I.

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